

SPECIAL EDITION: The Trudeau years in words and pictures

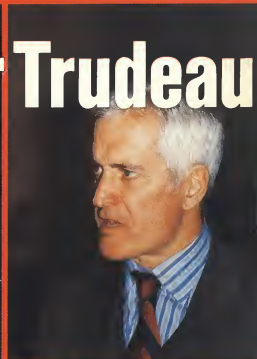
Maclean's

MARCH 12, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

Canada After Trudeau



PUT
YOUR RYE
HERE.

Are you sure your rye is the right age?

Not every Canadian whisky is as old as you're led to believe. Not even our closest competitors.

At Seagram, we believe that V.O. is exactly the *right* age, not too young nor past its prime.

Seagram's V.O. Taste the difference maturity makes.



Seagram's V.O.
Finest by Far.

COVER

Canada after Trudeau

After dominating federal politics for 16 years, Pierre Trudeau resigned as Liberal leader last week. Rumors of his departure had floated Ottawa for weeks, but he surprised almost everyone by resigning on Feb. 26. John Turner was the early favorite as the race began to succeed him, but other candidates will enter the race before the mid-June convention.

—Page 14



The primary Hart attack

A stunning upset in the New Hampshire primary by Senator Gary Hart weakened Walter Masalia's hopes for an easy victory in the Democratic run.

—Page 46



The carnival of life

The *Road to Avonlea* is a masterpiece of storytelling, a brilliant, newly released screen adaptation of John Irving's dark and sentimental novel.

—Page 66

CONTENTS

Books	28
Buzzing	13
Business/Economy	54
Canada	46
Cover	14
Editorial	2
Films	64
Follow-up	39
Fotheringham	68
Homeing	62
Labor	65
Letters	4
Medicine	61
Passages	4
People	65
World	66



Imasco claims a U.S. prize

Imasco, an aggressive Montreal-based conglomerate, added a major U.S. drug chain to its empire last week. And more takeovers are in store.

—Page 54



The golden Grammy sweep

After Michael Jackson won an unprecedented eight Grammy awards, the industry is running out of tunes to bestow on the 25-year-old phenomenon.

—Page 45

After Andropov

Your Feb. 30 cover story, *The world after Andropov*, was a job well-done. The calibre of commentary and reporting was very high. I appreciated, particularly, the opinions of such experts as Boguslaw Brominski (The unshakable East-West reality) and Harrison Salisbury (A tragedy of missed opportunity). I respectfully remind you, however, that there are Canadian experts who might be equally called upon by your magazine to comment on such items. You can add to the privation of more intellectual discussion by spreading homogenous ideas.

—LT COL. JAMES S. COLE
Greenfield Park, Que.

It seems ironic, cynical and in bad taste that the Soviets should play Chequers Palace Munk to bury their leaders. The march was composed by a Polish national to honor the dead as a result of Polish insurrection against Russian oppression—which the Soviets continue now, only to a greater degree.

—DR. DANUTA PODKOJNICKA
Mississauga

Olympics in the scheme of things

Your usual policy seems to be to use a picture on your cover that relates to the feature story for that week, but I feel that you made a mistake by not setting policy aside for the Feb. 27 cover, which depicted recently elected Argentine President Raul Alfonsín, and giving the cover to Olympic gold medalist Gustav Reuber, who also won a bronze. The Feb. 27 Sports article about the



Fast Andropov, more homogenous ideas.

Olympian (Reuber's Olympic gold) is full of reasons why he deserved that honor as it said, "In the long history of the winter Games, no Canadian man had ever won an individual gold medal." While speed skating, like all other sports, matters little in the universal scheme of things ("Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine"), you should have celebrated Reuber's triumphs.

—SUSAN DENNIS
Ottawa

Congratulations and thank you for the excellent cover story on Canada's winter Olympians (The Olympic provision, Feb. 6). Over the past few years magazines, including Maclean's, have devoted numerous pages to glorifying professional sports. It was great to see our amateur athletes—those who truly compete for the glory of the sport—get some well-deserved recognition.

—IAN HAND
Durham, Nfld.

Your article Reuber's Olympic gold proved the truth of the skater's statement, "You are not a hero until you win the gold." It is unfortunate that the media show so little interest in those athletes who have endured years of hard work to become the best in their individual sports but who do not make it to the Olympic podium.

—PATRICIA PALERKA
Windsor

If the moose can fly

I take exception to the letter to the editor from Oliver E. Peagl of Ottawa on your Jan. 30 cover story, Canada's forgotten poor (Rick van der Meer, Letters, Feb. 30). I wonder why it is that the poor are expected to give up everything, including cigarettes. I looked at the same picture and missed the subliminal—maybe the affluent should try on the other fellow's mooseskin.

—PATRICIA OUELLET
Capreol, Ont.

PASSAGES

REMEMBER: Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr., 71, the U.S. Speaker of the House of Representatives, after his next term, ending in 1986. O'Neill, who took over John F. Kennedy's House seat after Massachusetts voters elected Kennedy to the Senate in 1962, endorsed Walter Mondale for the Democratic nomination and hopes that, if he wins, Mondale will appoint him ambassador to Ireland.

RETHINKING: Steve Podborski, 26, the 1982 World Cup downhill ski champion and the last of the original "Crusty Canadians," from professional skiing, effective March 11. Podborski, who has won half of Canada's 18 men's World Cup victories, says he wants a career that will require him to be "less of a glutton." And Gerry Sawchenko, 36, winner of five World Cup races and a world championship, retired Saturday.

RELEASING: Rhodes Scholar Laurence Greshkin, 20, the son of Liberal Senator Gerald Greshkin, as president of the Oxford Union, Oxford University's debating society. Greshkin, a second-year student of political philosophy, is the union's first Canadian president since the election of former NDP leader David Lewis in 1968.

DEBTS: Jackie Coogan, 66, the actor who became Hollywood's first child star after he appeared in *Charlie Chaplin's* *The Kid*, 1921 film, The Kid, of a recent attack on Hollywood. Coogan made his movie debut in *Skinner's Baby* when he was 13 months old, but *The Kid* made him an overnight sensation and by 1923 he was the number 1 box office star. He made a successful transition to talking pictures in 1930 in *Tom Sawyer*.

REMEMBERING: New Democrat Senator East St. Robert Ogilvie, 55, a Roman Catholic priest, from Parliament, after Pope John Paul II announced his exit to run in the next federal election. The late North American Roman Catholic had held public office as Rev. Robert Deluca, a former U.S. congressman, ordered not to run for re-election by Pope John Paul II. A December, 1984, Code for Canon Law forbids priests and nuns from becoming involved in politics.

CONTESTED: Scarborough East Conservative MP Gordon Glickelst, 66, his wife, Patricia, 52, and son, Steven, 29, of ending \$11,394 in corporate taxes from 1975 to 1980, by Provincial Court Judge Milton Cadbury, in Toronto. The Glickelsts deposited money from the sale of assets of J. Gordon Glickelst Ltd. into personal bank accounts and that of a subsidiary company.



When little things make such a big difference, you'll want some help deciding.

Most manufacturers know that upgrading their operations will allow them to compete more successfully in domestic and world markets. However, adopting new technology poses various challenges to small and medium size businesses. To help industry adjust to new methods more easily, the Ontario Government has established ten Technology Centres throughout the province.

These Technology Centres can

answer your most pressing questions regarding microelectronics, computer-aided design and computer-aided manufacturing, resource machinery, robotics, active and passive parts and food processing machinery. We can tell you what needs upgrading to advance your business, why technology cuts costs and increases production. We can also advise on financing personnel and adapting technology to your existing operations.

All ten Technology Centres are staffed with highly experienced business personnel from the private sector. We can give your company a production evaluation, then provide on-site proposals and selections. Just complete and mail this coupon and we'll send you more in-depth information. When you make a business decision this important, you won't have to make it alone. We're here to give you all the help you need.

Let's talk technology.

The Ontario Technology Centres,
Ministry of Industry and Trade, Second Floor, 5th Floor,
480 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario M5G 2S2

Name
Title
Company
Address
City Province Code

BILD
ONTARIO
Ministry of
Industry and
Trade

SUBSCRIBERS' MOVING NOTICE
Send correspondence to:
McGraw-Hill, Inc. 1221 Avenue of the Americas
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2B4

ATTACH AND ADDRESS LABEL HERE
AND MAIL IMMEDIATELY!
I have subscribed to *Canadian Business* for ☐ 1 year ☐ 2 years ☐ 3 years
and I authorize you to change my name and address to the new address below.
Name
New Address
City Province Code
Post Office

Trusting and banking

The Jan. 30 issue of Maclean's carried a column by Peter C. Newman entitled *An answer to the bankers' club* (Business Watch). The article contains several inaccurate and misleading statements. It suggests, for example, that the main difference between banks and trust companies is one of leverage, with banks being able to lever their capital above the 50-times maximum, which Newman claims applies to trust companies. In fact, there is no effective maximum limit governing trust companies.

A trust company can exceed the 50-times multiple as long as its financial condition complies with standards set out in regulation. The real ceiling on such a trust company's leverage is at the discretion of the federal regulator. Nor is Newman correct in suggesting that the banks are free of leverage constraints. The Bank Act permits the supervisor general of banks to set standards, and indeed he has done so. And the banking industry's leverage at the present time compares very favourably with that of the trust industry. The article also suggests that

banks operate under no limits as when they can lend to any one borrower. That is also incorrect. It is a matter of public record that banks may not lend an amount greater than 10 per cent of their capital to any one borrower.

—HELEN K. MCLELLAN,
Director of Public Affairs,
The Canadian Bankers' Association,
Toronto

Inconsistent food for thought

I agree with Barbara Amiel's closing line, "One should also think" (A question of press credibility, Column, Feb. 20). However, if Amiel's were to follow her advice, then that editors would be her last. Amiel has given new meaning to the word "contradiction." How can she justify condemning an action taken by a Communist state and praising the same action taken by the United States, whose government's philosophy she hopes to reconcile with hers?

—SAM NADIN,
Aspen, Ont.

Barbara Amiel's lamentable piece on the "assuredly deserved" exclusion of the press by the U.S. government when it invaded Granada proves her point that a journalist "should also think." But when this lady, if Amiel took a walk in some inner city in the United States, it might help her "thinking."

—EDNA SCHABAS,
Toronto

B.C.'s senseless carnage

Why "Canada's weekly newsmagazine" is choosing to ignore an issue that has been making headlines in B.C. newspapers for a while now is beyond the comprehension of those following the progress of conflict groups in their attempts to stop B.C. Minister of Environment Anthony Bennett from slaughtering 80 per cent of the wolf population in Northern British Columbia. This senseless carnage has ignited the fury of protesters around the globe. They justifiably feel that the provincial government's plan is only in the interest of big-game hunters, who did not act as a lobbyist but merely for sport. And the provincial government makes no logical justification for this slaughter. If we eliminate the real criminals—big-game hunters—wildlife will then resume its harmonious cycle without the effort of mankind.

—CHRISTOPHER STOKES,
Protest Walk,
Vancouver

Letters are edited and may be reworded. Writers should supply their address to facilitate return of letters. Mail correspondence to: *Maclean's*, c/o The Editor, Maclean's magazine, 400 King Street West, Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A5.

SHATTER YOUR IDEAS ABOUT VODKA.

Even though all vodka is like yours, each is special. But let's be honest: not all vodka is like yours. Balalaika is especially subtle and dry because it's made from 100% grain. And it's made from a particular type of grain and crisp vodka. Of course, you can judge Balalaika by its taste if you like. (Our new bottle is elegantly designed.) But to appreciate the full difference, look out the Balalaika.

BALALAIKA. CHARCOAL-FILTERED VODKA.

ALBERTA

Wish you were here



Our malpais is nestled in the green warmth of an Alberta morning. The view is spectacular. The air is so pure, so clean. And the high above the city, we remember the day with contentment as our restaurant reawakens into the sunset. Travel Alberta, P.O. Box 2500, Dept. 15, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6J 2Z4.

Travel Alberta
Canada 94

The legacy of Three Mile Island



Three Mile Island plant; Barrett mismanagement; improper procedures and unplanned battles

The near-catastrophic breakdown at the nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island, Pa., happened five years ago, but North America's worst commercial nuclear power accident continues to generate controversy. The cleanup of Three Mile Island's crippled Unit 2 reactor has already cost \$400 million, and authorities expect that figure to reach \$1 billion by the time it is finished. Although the accident did not damage the adjacent Unit 1 reactor, federal authorities ordered it closed after the accident. Now the shutdown threatens the future of the plant's operator, General Public Utilities (GPI). Charges of mismanagement and improper procedures at the plant have touched off a series of investigations. And emotional battles continue to rage over what the long-term health risks may be to 600,000 people in five counties surrounding the island, who may have been exposed to the radiation.

At first, the March 28, 1979, accident appeared to be relatively minor. But because the plant's operators did not understand what was happening inside the plant reactor building, the problem rapidly became more serious. The core of the Unit 2 reactor was overheating—with temperatures as high as 5,200°C, 1,800 degrees above the operating temperature of 333°C. A report by Washington's Nuclear Regulatory Commis-

sion (NRC) said that in another 30 minutes temperatures could have reached 5,200°C, the point at which a meltdown—where the fuel melts through the reactor vessel, deep to the floor of the nuclear building and penetrates it, causing large amounts of radiation to escape—could have occurred. At it was, according to NRC officials, radiation that penetrated the atmosphere along with vented steam exposed people in the area to 6 mSv millirem of radiation over and above the average yearly exposure of 100 millirem. And about one million gallons of contaminated water flooded the basement of the Unit 2 building.

The difficulties of cleaning up Unit 2 remain enormous. So far, workers have removed and decontaminated the water, but they have yet to undertake the more difficult task of lifting the 175-ton cap off the reactor and removing destroyed fuel and radioactive debris. Lake Barrett, deputy director of the NRC's on-site cleanup project, says that the material must be removed because an island site is not a suitable repository for storing substances that are "going to be hazardous

for thousands of years." Financing the operation presents even greater difficulties than the laborious task of cleaning up. Most of the \$400 million spent so far on the cleanup has come from GPI's property insurance. But that is expected to run out by the end of this year, leaving hundreds of millions of dollars of work left to do. To date, other nuclear companies have balked at contributing to the cost of the cleanup, although the various levels of government are providing financial assistance.

While the damage to the Unit 2 reactor was so severe that it is not expected to operate again, considerable controversy has developed over the fate of Unit 1, which had been temporarily shut down for refueling before the accident. Then the authorities ordered it closed. Now GPI claims that it is taking about \$100 million a year by not operating the undamaged Unit 1, an which it has spent about \$100 million in additional safety features. Since the 1979 shutdown GPI has pressed the NRC to approve the restart of Unit 1—a decision that the NRC has repeatedly delayed.

Much of the NRC's reluctance stems from the public opposition to restarting the reactor. In May, 1985, Three Mile Island area residents, many of whom had to leave their homes and stay away for several days at the time of the accident, voted 2 to 1 in a public referendum against restarting Unit 1. The residents are backed by the Union of Concerned Scientists, a Cambridge, Massachusetts-based body of scientists who argue that major problems remain at Unit 1. Said Robert Pollard, who was a nuclear safety engineer at the NRC before joining the Union of Concerned Scientists: "There is no technical basis for concluding that it is safe to run."

The growing number of critics also accuse GPI of



When unexpected company arrives, it's nice to have the extra room.

The new 1984 Civic GL Sedan gives you all of the things you'd expect from a Civic, and then some.

Excellent exterior lines that might have your neighbours wondering if your lottery numbers came up. A lower hoodline for improved visibility and aerodynamic sleekness. A robust 1500 cc 12-valve overhead cam engine. A trunk that the word "huge" wouldn't be lost in.

And once inside the Civic Sedan, you'll find yourself surrounded by room not people. Head room, leg room, shoulder room, hip room.

You'll also take comfort from the crush-pile fabric seats no matter how long the trip. All of this family room and comfort have been added to what Civic has always given you: Excellent fuel economy, small price.

You'll find the 1984 Civic GL Sedan pleasantly more than you expected. Even should Mom and Dad and baby make four.

HONDA

"Today's answer."



Remember your seat belt. It's a simple fact of life.

Introducing a new Hilton in Hawaii
with Golf, Tennis, Horseback Riding,
Dune Cycling, and an Oceanful
of Beach Activities.

*Turtle Bay
Hilton*
A Hilton Hotel

ON OAHU'S STUNNING NORTH SHORE

This complete, self-contained
resort encompasses all the
recreational wonders
where visitors enjoy the
best Hawaii has to offer.

For reservations call
your local Hilton Reservation Service

WIN A CADDY FROM ROTARY or a vacation of a lifetime

This year the Rotary Club of Burlington Lakeshore
affords a valuable prize. First prize is a brand new 1984
Caddis Sedan De Ville or \$20,000 cash. Second prize is a
lifetime all expense paid trip for two to Hawaii. It's our 10th
annual WIN A CADDY FROM ROTARY draw and it'll happen
Friday, May 25, 1984. Tickets are a mere \$2.00 each, 3 for \$5.00
or 7 for \$16. All proceeds will be used for Rotary Community
Services.

or call 447-8871, 8871 or 1-800-447-8871, Burlington, Ont. L7N 1Y1. Limited Registration No. 43744



ROTARY CLUB
OF BURLINGTON
LAKESHORE

c/o Store 217, 507 St. Clair Ave.
Burlington Ontario L7N 1P5

Decided in my cheque for

_____ tickets @ \$2.00

_____ tickets @ 3 for \$5.00

_____ tickets @ 7 for \$16.00

Your tickets will be forwarded by mail.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ PROV. _____
P.C. _____

image management. They point to the criminal charges that the department of justice laid last November against Metropolitan Edison, the city subsidiary operating Three Mile Island at the time of the accident. The indictment alleged that Metropolitan Edison "engaged in a pattern of criminal conduct" in attempting to conceal data from the NRC about the leakage rate from the reactor's primary cooling system. It also charged that the company falsified reports on safety tests for at least five months before the accident. For its part, Metropolitan Edison has filed a plea of not guilty.

While the controversy over restarting Unit 1 continues, the most contentious issue is the long-term health problems that may afflict those exposed to radiation during the accident. The NRC's Barrett says monitors at Three Mile Island showed that the amount of radiation that escaped into the environment was small—that individuals in the neighboring area would have been subjected to no more radiation than the equivalent of two chest X-rays. The presidential commission that former president Jimmy Carter appointed to investigate the accident reached similar conclusions. Its October, 1979, report stated the health risks were negligible. But many scientists question the accuracy and adequacy of Three Mile Island's monitors. Dr. Carl Johnson of Denver's Medical Care and Research Foundation, for one, contends that the company's monitors measured only gamma radiation and not alpha radiation, which is 50 times more harmful to humans.

Despite repeated assurances from government and industry officials that the radiation leaks were minimal, many of those exposed remain convinced that they will suffer long-term health problems as a result of their exposure to the radiation. They feel that they deserve compensation for the trauma they suffered after the accident, which erupted from the fear of illness and death to marriage breakdown. In a 1981 class action suit, a group of several hundred residents and businesses won \$35 million from OGI for evacuation expenses and loss of income. With the outcome of that action, it is certain that the fallout from the accident, which cast a shadow over the future of the nuclear power industry, will continue. Many residents remain angry because they believe that both the government and industry officials have consistently downplayed the seriousness of the accident. And one area resident, John Kowale, a 64-year-old retired supervisor at a U.S. Air Force aircraft plant, "If we wait another 100 years, they will tell us an accident never happened."

—LYNNA MCKAY
in Three Mile Island

Irish Mist goes with



After all,
taste is everything.



Irish Mist is a registered trademark of J. & J. O'Connell & Co., Ltd., Dublin, Ireland. Irish Mist is a registered trademark of J. & J. O'Connell & Co., Ltd., Dublin, Ireland.

SUPERB AUDIO MEETS SUPERB VIDEO



SANYO BETA HI-FI VCR

Imagine watching operas, musicals or rock concerts—and enjoying rich, high-fidelity stereo sound—concert hall realism—in your own home.

You can, with the new Sanyo Beta Hi-Fi VCR 7200, because Sanyo combines the performance of state-of-the-art Video with Audio whose specifications rival

those of digitally-recorded sound. The Sanyo Beta Hi-Fi 7200 offers 14 day/8 event programmability in a cable-ready VCR. It is a triumph of Sanyo technology that must be heard to be appreciated.

See it—and hear it—today at your Sanyo Dealer.

Audio	CONVENTIONAL VCR	VCR 7200 BETA HI-FI
DYNAMIC RANGE	40dB	80dB
DISTORTION	3.0%	0.2%
WOM FLUTTER	0.25%	0.005%
FREQUENCY	100Hz-10KHz	20Hz-20KHz
CROSS TALK	40dB	60dB

SANYO
Makes Life's Good Things Better



Official Video Partners
of the 1992 Summer Olympics
Barcelona, Spain

COLUMN

Drawing the 'smoking' battle lines

By Fred Bruzning

Twenty years ago the U.S. Surgeon General issued a report confirming what had long been suspected: cigarette smoking is significantly more dangerous than lapidary looting or moving one's lips while reading. The response of the tobacco industry was essentially the same then as now: Tell out what satisfies you choose, asserted the public relations gung, but nothing demonstrates an irreversible link between smoking and disease. Too many variables. Nothing absolute. Inconclusive at best. That, of course, was like arguing that because someone might smudge a baseball 400 feet with an ear handle or a nose pop, Louisville Sluggers are not a primary cause of home runs.

It was a feeble kind of argument—deputy, undignified and entirely superfluous. People who smoke do not need reassurances from the scheming minds at Tobacco Central. Smokers enjoy the experience and embrace their madness despite the well-publicized risks. And what of it? Americans drink too much knowing the perils of alcohol. They indulge freely enough in various forms of "substance abuse" to have made the marijuana agent a Hollywood stereotype as familiar as the beauty queen. They eat untold trillions of french fries and greasy hamburgers and gleefully wash them down with chocolate shakes concocted in the veterinary lab, not the dairy barn. We are daredevils, all right. No news there.

Smoking remains a matter of discussion not because it is a habit that invites a subconscious but because we have managed to make of this humble user a question of individual rights. We are gearing up for a campaign, sure as anything. We are about to lunge onto another battlefield. "You right to smoke is a public place and where my smoking begins to harm the adversary, protesting in his theatre seat. Comes the reply from one now belated. "If your constitution is as delicate, I suggest you seek other accommodations—something closer to the rest room, perhaps."

In a civilized society none of this can be carried on in temples or taverns or wherever the sacred religious rites of the tribe were performed, and no one would even think of fighting up at the dinner table, move back or demurely waiting round. But our level of maturity is not what it ought to be, really, and with pre-

adolescent nerve we are brand to press on.

Confrontation, after all, is our national pleasure, and we are not about to pass up such a splendid opportunity. Somehow, Americans love their seat for life when not in a state of combat readiness—when they cannot enter a shouting match with the fellow in the next car or demand the hide of a basketball coach who insists Little Joey or Jane Christiansen must be in the team when his or her bottom is staked to the bench.

Not long ago a group of workers went to a midtown Manhattan restaurant for late Friday dinner. Their line of work was grueling, and the supper break constituted good therapy: rumourous conversation, glasses of wine, and a suspicion of latino food, a round of espresso. Then back to the desks for more punishment.

No sooner had the first round of nachos, cheese and sausage arrived when

"In a civilized society people would smoke only in tepees, temples or where sacred tribal rites were performed"

one fellow lit up. The only objection was from a relative newcomer—someone with a reputation for amiable life as though it were a free zone, wailing—who sat erect in her seat and made the sign of a "T."

"Timeout," she demanded. "Timeout." The crush of defiance seemed as the veteran leaned forward her adversary. "Would you mind not doing that?" said Madame Sanson, leaving little doubt that grace alone would befall the offender if he persisted.

"Well," said the smoker, grinding his superior grin against the adversary, "since you asked so sweetly, no, of course, I wouldn't mind at all."

We are smoking Red Alert. Earlier this year a transit policeman in New York wounded a subway rider who, the officer said, became "unacceptably aggressive" while ordered to smother his cigarette. Previously, a man was beaten off a cross-country flight after first failing to douse his pipe, and then blaspheming that the airline was acting unconstitutionally. With passions careening out of control, a number of anti-smoking measures have been passed or

are pending. Both sides are indignant. Retribution is in the air.

Evidently, that sort of disorder jangles the tobacco producers. Why, exactly, no industry that packages nice death in much profit? Some smokers insist with the quality of social intercourse is difficult to say. Executives must fear ill will is bad for sales. They must worry that continued debate can only jeopardize marketing strategy and lead eventually to a level of public enlightenment heretofore unattainable.

Something must account for the conciliatory tone emanating these days from the producers. For years tobacco firms have been sponsoring tennis matches and horse races—good clean fun, it was felt the message—in New York a manufacturer has undertaken to help kids find summer jobs, rejuvenate Grand Central Station and bring an exhibit of Vatican art to the Metropolitan Museum. (One can imagine an old man's son of the permanent possibilities John Paul II smiling on the steps of St. Peter's, cigarette dangling from two fingers, waxy blue smoke floating overhead. "Infinite terror," announces the text.) Last month another company took part in major publications to set up a fictional, yett refined discussion between smokers and abstainers. "Brought to you in the interest of common courtesy..." says the credit line.

If the manufacturers are so public-spirited, it might be asked, why do they still use tar and nicotine? Corporate morality is not the issue here, however, although the industry's current attempt at high-mindedness is worth at least a mention. Big Tobacco aims at marketing common courtesy, of all things, but who would argue?

Americans are going to continue battling at the lunch counter and in the airline terminal. They are going to snipe at one another and draw explanations and/or aggression. They are not going to do anything to make this an easier. The right to smoke, the right to enlighten about smoking—these are vital matters held dear by a citizenry sensitive to great social issues. Industry officials may want to negotiate a truce, but we are way past that stage. The first shot was fired long ago by the Surgeon General. Manufacturers fired back. Now the war is in the trenches. The troops are poised. Anyone got a match?

Fred Bruzning is a writer with Newsday in New York.



A MAGNETIC ENIGMA

By Robert Lewis

Pierre Elliott Trudeau dominated Canadian public life as no leader had before. He came to power at the dawn of electronic politics in Canada proclaiming, in the words of a rusted-out campaign button, "It's spring." His images and his deeds soaked—

and often soaked—the consciousness of at least three generations of Canadians. He wore a rose in his lapel and had a slogan on his lips for almost every occasion. There was the promise of the "Just Society" in the early years, "Just watch me," as he chastised the army during the PQ crisis in 1970, "Eup, you're frozen," when he defused wage and price controls in 1974, and those "Pentagon pigeons" who dared to downgrade his peace initiative. Throughout the era he provoked virtually every emotion, except indifference.

Along the way, Trudeau redefined the political landscape, elevated himself to an odyssey sport and scored the most important stage in Salomon's Arm, H.C. Canadians will remember him as the determined leader who kept Quebec in Confederation, gave Canada a place in the world beyond its calling and finally brought the Constitution home. But above all, he was the personal leader whom Canadians loved to hate during 18 years of a remarkable prime ministry. Trudeau ended his era in a typed letter of resignation, released at 12:15 p.m., Wednesday, Feb. 29—a day that arrives only once every four years.

Brianna: It will be decades before a leader of such magnetism is seen again. During his years in and out of power, he was a man of enduring paradox. A self-described "soldier sort of fellow," he elevated the politics of the plain to an art form. He was a philosopher king who turned the chameleon into a personal mascot. The works of Plato and Machiavelli sat comfortably on his library shelves. He was a man who jealously guarded his private life but on the public stage had the gift of a great therapist. In the same day, through the magic of television, he was a stern leader at home presiding calmly over a visit to his videotape while vacationing on a beach in Jamaica. He was the most vibrant politician

the country has produced and, to the end, he was a true enigma who mostly flew solo flights.

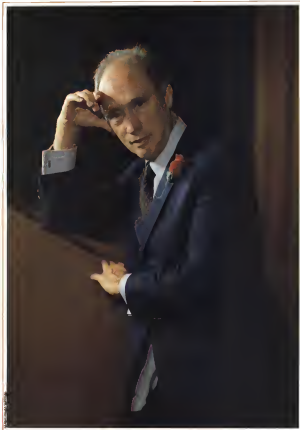
Trudeau was a Quebecer through and through. The future of his province was the reason he came to Parliament in 1965 and it kept him on the scene longer than even he intended. So singular was Trudeau's passion that he was a virtual stranger to the rest of the nation. He presided over English Canadian affairs in the manner of an aloof colonial governor who tried his best but never quite understood the ways of the locals. He reinforced that view last October after a drive through Strathroy, Ont., a farm community of 8,000 in ruralized Canada. After the tour Trudeau said that he had pressed his forehead against the cold window of the car and wondered: "What kind of people lived in those houses? And what kind of people worked in this part of Canada?"

Brianna: He did kinde the fierce that lit the way for a revolution in the treatment of French Canadians—even if, upon his leaving, bitterness and legacy about official bilingualism threatened the legacy in Manitoba. In contrast to his pioneering work in the fields of language and culture, Trudeau ended his career with a bleak record on handling the burning vat of economic irritants. He may have known more about economic theory than even some bankers, but the national consensus was that he did not really evince any compassion for the problems of ordinary mortals. Trudeau is celebrated for keeping Quebec in Canada, but in the process he squandered Liberal support west of the Lakehead. Well before the end, Trudeau confronted that harsh reality when he threw up his hands and told

one adviser, "I never understood the West." Many Canadians not privy to the sentiment, in part because they refused to share his sense of equality for two founding peoples. There was another reason in contrast to his predecessors Trudeau was a provocateur, not a compromiser. He seemed to relish the big showdowns and, at times, he oversteered them. He commented as that characteristic in 1970: "I became accustomed very young to moving against the current, attacking authority and not giving a damn for public opinion." Trudeau, in turn, did not reach out to the



At 1968 leadership convention: "It's spring"



ascendancy, perhaps because he erected so many defensive barriers. As he conceded in a rare personal glimpse, "I know I can be as hurt as anyone and therefore I don't. I never did, just let anybody in."

Trudeau's intense pursuit of man-mea sports, in retrospect, served as a metaphor for his political life. He excelled at swimming, diving and skiing. In baseball, by contrast, he was so maladapted that after walking two batters and allowing a single in an MPE game against reporters on Parliament Hill in the early 1970s, Trudeau left the mound, mugged much language and went home to his Sussex Drive. In April, 1978, on the anniversary of a decade in power, Trudeau acknowledged "I've always [been] working on my own. I compete more with myself than against others."

Insight: It did not help that throughout his years in power the Prime Minister was an indifferent judge of people. He promoted some over their heads and held on to them long after their time had passed. Too often the best talents, from Eric Kierans to Donald McDonald, left his side. The singular intensity of his stance on the political battlefield enabled Trudeau to score lasting gains on the matters about which he cared most—Quebec, bilingualism and international affairs. Largely because of Trudeau, French became an official language in government for the first time in the nation's history. René Lévesque may have dismissed him as "the modern Negro king of French Canada" and criticized the quality of his French, but Trudeau's leadership inspired a new generation of young anglophones from sea to sea to renounce themselves in his language. In Ottawa, the Trudeau era also attracted a new breed of bright, engaging francophones—and they served him as a powerful force against the Parti Québécois in the sovereignty-association referendum of 1980.

Trudeau pursued international matters with the same singularity of purpose. He flew off for talks with world leaders to smolder what burning issues vexed his attention at home. He gleefully went off in his Boeing 705 to every continent except Antarctica. Along the way he won respect—if not always agreement or votes at home—for promoting the causes of poor nations and nuclear disarmament. He could fairly proclaim himself, as he did at Harvard in 1945, a "citizen of the world."

To be sure, there were other accomplishments during the Trudeau years in areas where his commitment burned less intensely. He launched a reform of the Criminal Code that took the state out of the bedrooms of the nation. Through controversial changes in the rules for investment, over the years his government attracted a deluge in foreign ownership of industry in Canada, particularly in the oil and gas sector, because of the National Energy Program. He brought totemism to the House of Commons and discipline to affairs of state. As an avid canoeist and outdoorsman, it was no accident that Trudeau became the first prime minister to visit the Arctic Islands near the North Pole and to assert federal sovereignty over the polar region.

Verdict: But what most enticed the Trudeau years was the style of the way home? He swept onto the national stage as a trendy bachelor with a team of "new guys with new ideas." In the early years he managed to attract the floor and inspire the ideas of Canadians from coast to coast. He lowered the voting age, launched programs and opportunities for youth, reorganized the Veterans and Housing and called people to new heights when national politics seemed stuck in the depths. His marriage to Margaret Sinclair in 1971 and the lingering euphoria of Expo 67 gave offshoots a warm sense of well-being.

Shortly after his first victory in 1968 Trudeau foreboded the perils of raising such high expectations. He told writer Morley Safer, one of his early supporters, "The trick



Packeting the Constitution with the Queen; Lévesque: home at last



Shipwreck victory in 1966; marrying Margaret in 1971; and with victorious Joe Clark in 1979: a style that marked an era



will be to do enough fast enough before people like you are disappointed." The nation did not have long to wait. Two days after the *Winnipeg Free Press* commended the Liberals for achieving "a sense of order" and "broad public support," two armed men forced French diplomat James Cross from his house in Montreal. The man of spring became an October band-leader. Abruptly, Canadians embarked on what became a decade of turmoil—one in which Trudeau alternately won and lost his majority.

The reasons for his setbacks were varied, but essentially they flowed out of a collectivism in the land that Trudeau had led the people down. In contrast to the years when he had lefty ideals and convictions, after 1972 Trudeau became a more conventional politician, dependent on businessmen, bankers and barbs *Noncham*, when he instructed Montreal truck drivers to "Manger de la merde," invited Vancouver protesters to "Get off your ass, get out there and work," or called MPs "just skeletons," individual Canadians reacted as if lashed by his tongs themselves.

On policy, there were celebrated fly-dops (price and wage controls), forced retreats (foreign investment and the MAPP contribution) and studied indifference (access to public information). As electoral pressure mounted, Trudeau returned to the policy manual of Tenacity: fidelity to his determination to retain power. Loyal backs and old friends overlooked government boards, agencies and the benches of the Senate, a body Trudeau once promised to reform. Liberal MPs dispensed public funds as patronage to further their own re-election chances. Trudeau, the old civil libertarian, defended the RCMP and its massive intrusion of privacy in the name of state security. And he tolerated the mergers and goings of mangled numbers from his cabinet with all the gusto of a Coney Island ticket taker.

Relationships: Beyond his many triumphs and defeats, what many Canadians of the Trudeau era will recall for their grandchildren are the vivid images the pressite behind the Queen's back, his bannister slides, his perches for stories, the flowing cape, the buckskin jacket, the sandals, Mercedes—"che car, not the girl"—his "huckle daddies," his kids and their wives.

It was less widely known that the most famous Canadian also had great difficulty remembering names. In 1976, during a lunch for reporters at 24 Sussex, he repeatedly called Jean Desrosiers, press secretary, "Pierre." Trudeau's biographer George Radwinski was assaulted during an after-lunch when Trudeau referred to him as "Peter." As for Dennis McIlwain, the fiery head of the Canadian Labour Congress in the twilight of the Trudeau era, the Prime Minister called him "Terry."

His name in all these conversations was not Canadian. As never hid, Trudeau could be gracious, witty and entertain-

ing—even with reporters. At the end of a demanding state visit to Japan in 1959 he reluctantly submitted to the proceedings of communications adviser Richard O'Hagan and shared a meal with three journalists in the forward cabin of an Ottawa-bound Boeing 707. He opened pointedly by needing all of an about our trade and wondering playfully why we managed to get so many things wrong.

Advantages: The conversation then turned to the RCMP Security Service, at the time the source of an uproar back in "that enchanting place, the House of Commons," as Trudeau put it irreverently. He was known for an often repeated private conviction that Mounties were leaking damaging information to the press about his government and, during the cable talk at 35,000 feet, he played on that conviction when I recalled how unforgiving he had been about governments while he was an insouciant law professor and writer in Montreal. "If we write about you the way you wrote about them," I suggested, "you would have the RCMP after us." With a twinkle in his eye Trudeau responded, without missing a beat, "Not the RCMP, the army."

Among friends, Pierre Trudeau was warm and generous, often to a fault. He was loving and caring with his sons and kind to all children. When he went through a painfully public separation with Margaret, Trudeau handled the reporter's grilling with classic grace.

For all of that, he was not a man with whom an average taxpayer—certainly not one under Revenue Canada's relentless gaze—would want to take a 14-day vacation. At one point in the mid-1970s prime Conservative polls found that voters believed Trudeau was more likely to pass an exam than Joe Clark—and more likely to cheat.

In the end, Trudeau was a man of many faces, but with few close friends. The proud, confident Jean Desrosiers admitted, even after he rose from the Shastingsham backwoods to head the finance department in Ottawa, that if Trudeau's presence he felt like "a schoolboy called before the prefect." Marc Lalonde, the trusted cabinet minister who helped engineer Trudeau's entry to politics, has never considered himself a personal friend.

As a loner in public life, however, Trudeau knew what he wanted to do. He came to Ottawa with a developed body of thinking and writing—an attribute that many political leaders have lacked at their peril. Like all men and women, Pierre Trudeau was a product of his times. Born as the son of privilege, he was a private school boy in his teens, a controversial object during the war in his 20s, a political activist in his 30s, a prime minister in his 40s, a cabinet minister, a single parent in his 50s, re-elected in his 60s. Now, he is an older statesman.

Pierre Trudeau probably has no regrets because he did it his way. During his tenure, if not always because of it, the nation grew from ignorance to full maturity. In his years of office, Pierre Trudeau provided all his energies and resources to define an era—for better and for worse.



Trudeau with sons (from left) Michel Sapiro and Justin, looking and caring

Go Beyond.



Just about everybody carries credit. But only a special kind of person carries the Gold Card®.

The minute you take the Gold Card from your wallet it says something about you and the doors you can open.

It says you can automatically tap the Gold Card Cash Network: the most flexible and comprehensive access to funds built into any card.

With the Gold Card, you and your family have the security of substantial travel insurance as part of a Personal Insurance Portfolio. There's no more extensive protection found in any card.

Going beyond all this, the Gold Card opens doors to Cardmember Personal Advantages. These include access to over 80 private city and country clubs, an

opportunity to join an exclusive wine club and more. No other card offers such services.

So the Gold Card opens doors in two ways: with a series of very real, unique services, and then with the subtle suggestion that your credentials are immaculate.

Find out more about the Gold Card. See a participating bank or trust company or write: American Express, P.O. Box 100, Gold Card, 101 McNabb Street, Markham, Ont., L3R 4H5. Or call 1-800-265-9035 toll free.

AMERICAN EXPRESS

THE GOLD CARD

IT OPENS DOORS OTHER CARDS CAN'T



View of 24 Sussex Drive last week. Jealous: For a man who brought out dirties, a curiously private, but well

CORNER

ry. He has a coast-to-coast organization of loyalists, led by Vancouver lawyer John Seft, who is in Toronto this week to begin preparing the campaign (page 36). Liberal insiders say that Turner has budgeted \$2 million on his campaign, and there is little doubt that he can raise at least that amount.

Turner's most serious challenger, in the early days of the race, will probably be 50-year-old Jean Chrétien. Although conventional wisdom dictates that the Liberal party has always alternated between a francophone and an anglophone leader, the pollster from Shawinigan is quick to point out that linguistic background did not stop anglophones Robert Warner, Mitchell Sharp (when Chrétien supported) or John Turner from entering the 1968 contest to succeed Lester Pearson.

Chrétien's strongest asset is also his worst handicap. He is extremely likable, but many of his biggest fans add that personality is simply not enough to qualify a man for the party's, and possibly the

country's, top job. Chrétien will try to emerge as the populist, left-of-center candidate when the Liberals need an alternative to Turner's Bay Street image. His organizers estimate that the campaign will cost almost \$1 million. One obvious source of funds is Power Corp. Chairman Paul Desmarès, whose son is married to Chrétien's daughter.

France But Chrétien's advisers insist that their candidate will not tap into family money. "He is a proud man," said one candidate. "He does not want to be dependent on Paul Desmarès."

Chrétien's promoters are already looking for second-ballot support. They are courting as their candidate's tremendous popularity to translate into delegate strength late in the convention. Chrétien has an impressive campaign team, which includes Northern Ontario Mrs. Keith Penner and Ron Irwin, Toronto lawyer Pierre Gosselin and Robert Wright, Montreal lawyer Michel Vézina, Toronto lobbyist Patrick Lawlor, president of the Automobile Parts Manufacturers' Association of Canada, and Minister John Iain, a vice-president of Power Corp. and

brother of Ontario XPR Leader Bob Rae, who will likely be the chief fund raiser. One of the major uncertainties of Chrétien's candidacy is the level of support he could win in his home province. Quebecers often find Chrétien's "I'm just a policeman" proclamation in English Canada to be both patronizing and embarrassing. Said Parti Québécois minister Gerald Goggin: "They like Chrétien not want because he fits all the stereotypes they have grown up believing about us frogs in Quebec."

Disruptive agent: The candidate who has done the most to upend the race so far is 50-year-old Mark MacGillivray. For the past two years, almost unnoticed, he has been touring the country, building an organization of legal workers and meeting Liberals in small groups in their living rooms. "He is going to be the surprise of the campaign," said MacGillivray's campaign manager and close friend, Jim McDonald, an Ottawa consultant who worked in the Prime Minister's press office in the late 1970s.

The former dean of law at the University of Windsor has a decidedly prime image as Parliament Hill. His official biography in the Parliamentary Guide describes the 56-year parliamentary veteran as a father of three, married since 1961. But MacGillivray, recently divorced, lives with a former aide in Ottawa's trendy Glabe district. He has an almost photographic memory for details and a quick grasp of issues. But, like Trudeau, he often buries his emotions under often readily recognized arguments. The timing of the leadership race is particularly bad for 50-year-old John



Trudeau with Campaigner: I was a meeting of Liberal executives, with Roberts; Chrétien, the pro-leadere were

Roberts. After growing himself for a run at the party's top job since the late 1970s, he enters the contest after managing a major Commons dispute, in the opinion of most, and of large sections of his own party. Since early February he has been under constant fire from the opposition parties over charges that his department purloined government money into Liberal ridings and all but ignored Tory ridings. According to senior bureaucrats, Roberts was not so much derided as neglected in his administration. The blatant favoritism that showed up in the pattern of job creation grants was not his plan, they insist. But neither was he sufficiently aware of what his own officials were doing to stop the handouts.

Donald Johnston picked the key players on his campaign team only last week. It was made up largely of aggressive young people, led by Richard Anderson, 38, a bright, reform-minded Ottawa business consultant. Johnston's followers expect to raise \$1 million on behalf of their candidate.

The Montreal tax lawyer's main drawback is that he has virtually no public profile. As minister of state for economic development, he is known as corporate bondholders but not among the party's grassroots members. His 47-year-old father of four is a personal friend of the Prime Minister and is known as a warm, engaging host among close friends. But outsiders find him instantly bright and (notably serious) Alex, within the party it is believed that he is more of a spallie conservative than an old-style Liberal.

Along with the most focused candidates are a number of second-rank possibilities who years ago lost strongly for Trudeau's job. They include 52-year-old John Manne, who had been discreetly but vigorously planning a run for the leadership even before Trudeau's announcement. By running, he will try to cement the party to a distant corner.

Less well-known nationally is Herb Gray, 52, the current Windsor lawyer who, like Manne, was his first Commons seat in 1982 and who is known as a strong economic nationalist. Eugene Whelan, agriculture minister in every Trudeau cabinet since 1973, has said he would run for the leadership if nobody else advances the kind of liberal philosophy that can serve "ordinary people". Ed Lunney, the vice-president for regional industrial expansion, and Gerald Ragan.

Paul: James Coates, the former Trudeau aide, also might run. But until now he has insisted that his suburban name no higher than to win the downtown Toronto riding of Spadina Centre, 69, grew up in Alberta and knew former Tory prime minister Joe Clark at university before go-

ing to work for Lester Pearson when he was prime minister in 1968. He reached the peak of his power as principal secretary to Trudeau. But he also attracted resentment from party regulars and was because of the way he centralized power in the Prime Minister's Office. Coates left Ottawa and fought a 1981 by-election in Spadina. He lost that election and has spent the

years since then preparing for the next one. But for all his credits and contacts, he appears to have little chance of winning the leadership.

About 2,500 Liberal delegates and 1,700 alternates will convene on Ottawa to make their crucial choice. With them will be 5,000 members of the media, 500 as official members of the party and from 2,000 to 10,000 observers. The delegates may pay as much as \$250 to attend, although some of the expense will be covered by riding associations. The convention will be the largest of its kind ever held in Canada. A fierce behind-the-scenes battle erupted last week over its timing. The Turner camp was eager to have the showdown as soon as practicable—May, if facilities could be found





Wheeler, again possible contenders

COVER

and arrangements could be made. But the weaker candidates in the race argued that a short campaign and an early convention would leave the favorite to capture the leadership without seriously addressing either the issues or the future of the party.

The party executive did decide to hold five policy sessions before the convention. All candidates are expected to attend and be grilled by party members in five cities. As for the convention itself, it will probably resemble both the last Liberal leadership convention in 1988 and the Tory leadership convention in Ottawa last June: two days of policy workshops in which candidates circulate from meeting room to meeting room, Friday night speeches, a vote and back-to-back porting in between.

Quebec after: The convention will give Trudeau the thunderous emotional farewell that was so strikingly absent from last week's events. Trudeau consulted only a handful of trusted advisors before making his decision. He telephoned a few close friends in Montreal over the Feb. 25 weekend. On Monday, Feb. 27, he told his principal secretary, Tom Axworthy, that he was considering stepping down. That same night, he called Senator Keith Davey, his most active promoter and cheerleader over the past 16 years. "We talked about everything," Davey told Mulroney's. The 59-year-old "seasoned," as he is called because of his alleged ability to produce Liberal electoral wins like the mysterious man of old produced rain, went to bed that night convinced that he had persuaded Trudeau to stay. "I wanted him to stay so badly that I was not even allowing myself to think

about a [leadership] convention," he said.

Tuesday, Feb. 28, was intended a normal day for the Prime Minister. He arrived at his Parliament Hill office at 9:15 a.m. and worked with officials to plan this week's first minister's constitutional conference on aboriginal rights. He went home at noon for lunch with his sons as he almost always does, stayed at his desk all afternoon and returned to 24 Sussex Drive for dinner at 6 p.m. That was the fateful night.

On Wednesday morning he arrived at his office in high spirits, he told me. He held his usual morning briefing with legislative aide Joyce Fairbairn, one of his longest-serving and most loyal assistants. He told her nothing. Fifteen minutes later he called Axworthy into his Parliament Hill office from the administration corridor across the street. Trudeau confirmed what Axworthy suspected: The 58-year-old for-

gered silence, a few misty eyes but no teeming sob. "It was very straightforward," said gay staffer. "He said he did not want it to be an emotional farewell."

Unfinished: In fact, it was no farewell at all. Trudeau will be leading the country for 10 more months. He will have to keep the government running while a Liberal leadership race is in progress. Beyond the day-to-day drama of keeping an administration operating and a safe number of Liberals in the House, Trudeau faces several uncharted tasks. The bitter debate over francophone rights in Manitoba remains unresolved. Although the issue is likely to be decided in the Supreme Court—and the legislature—Trudeau's moral support for the province's francophone minority will need to be present, and his commitment to provide the country's native people with their own special place in Confederation remains unfulfilled. The First Ministers' meeting this week is part of a continuing effort to provide native self-government and to try to define what rights Canada's original people have over the nation's lands and resources.

The day after Trudeau shocked the country by announcing his departure, he called an old friend to chat. "The years melted away," the confidant recalled. "His role as prime minister no longer isolated him. We were friends again." After 16 years, while others agonized to fill his shoes, Pierre Trudeau was enjoying his first taste of a new freedom.

With John Wray and Sharon Riley in Ottawa, Michael Chabon in Halifax, Anthony Wilson-Smith in Montreal and Arthur Johnson, Patricia Ebsworth and Ann McGrover in Toronto.

McGowan organizational legwork



mer political science professor felt "a confused mixture of tremendous regret and sadness." The two men began drafting Trudeau's resignation letter, and all that remained was to make the announcement public. Shortly after 18 a.m. Trudeau phoned Caragoudis, a Liberal headhunter across several blocks away, who, as usual, answered her own phone. She said later that she was surprised by the timing of the announcement, but not its content.

At 11:45 a.m. Trudeau called a meeting of all the staff in the Langevin block office. "We got everyone we could round up in 15 minutes," said press aide Ralph Coleman. Then, flanked by Axworthy and Fairbairn, Trudeau told the 50 employees his news. "His motto has always been reason above passion," said Coleman. "He was very composed, although I think I detected some emotion." Trudeau's announcement met with sur-



Wiser's DeLuxe.
10 Years Old.
A great whisky
must taste its time.

Our people and our whisky
are in no hurry. That's something
you don't see much of these
days. But we still live up to the
standards our founder J.P. Wiser
set over a century ago.

Because lots of time and
patience accounts for the smooth
and distinctively superior taste
of Wiser's DeLuxe.

There are faster ways to
make whisky.

But there's none better.

J.P. Wiser said it all 125 years ago.
"Quality is something you just can't rush."



What's the future got in store for you?

Satisfaction



At ComputerLand®, you get satisfaction. Because we offer a wide selection of state-of-the-art computers and software. A trained staff to answer your questions. And post-sale support to assist you should you ever have a problem. Satisfaction.

That's what you'll get at ComputerLand. ComputerLand has a nationwide network of stores in all major centres across Canada. To locate the store nearest you call (800) 361-0170. Ask for operator 83.

ComputerLand®

Make friends with the future. Today.

COVER

Quebec's split verdict on bilingualism

By Gilbert Lavale

In Quebec, where he has been called everything from a traitor to an idol, Pierre Trudeau is less a complex legacy. Somehow, Quebecers know Trump will never be the same without Trudeau's proud, firm presence on the national scene. In his time in office much has changed in Canada's belle province. Just 25 years ago French television earned The 24 Hours Show in English. Ten years ago at the downtown Montreal Eaton's store, a French-speaking customer would often find it difficult to receive service in his own language. And traditionally, unilingual English-speaking prime ministers would be elected, with strong Quebec support, providing they had a French-speaking lieutenant. Now all that has changed—and Quebecers know that Trudeau's bilingualism battles are part of that evolution.

And yet, admiration for a tough, witty native son is mixed with distrust. The mutual animosity between Trudeau and the Parti Québécois, along with a good portion of the province's young intelligentsia, is legendary. Still, members of the Quebec government were respectful. As required minister Camille Laurin explained after greeting Trudeau warmly in 1977, "You must understand, he is very special to all of us."

Indeed, even before he went to Ottawa, Trudeau was a big figure in Quebec. He was a political novice in the fight against conscription in Quebec during the Second World War, a writer and ideological catalyst in the battle against the province's autocratic premier, Maurice Duplessis, during the 1960s, and a lawyer and teacher at the centre of the intellectual ferment that gripped the province during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. When Trudeau retired briefly in 1979, his former political nemesis René Lévesque called him "the most brilliant person master Canada has ever had." That was a gracious admission from a man who a year later would be humbled by Trudeau in the resounding defeat of Quebec's referendum on independence.

Among Quebecers, Trudeau was most successful in his efforts to turn the federal government into a bilingual insti-

tution, even though the move was widely perceived as having been too slow. René Lévesque, one of the fathers of the separatist movement in Quebec: "What we receive now from Ottawa is a much more bilingual than before, and what we receive in French is of a much better quality." Added an enthusiastic francophone finance department official in Ottawa, who joined the public service in 1968: "It is the night and day. When I arrived, there were no French names among the senior-level officers. We would have never thought

asylum led him to reject other ideas—such as the concept of two nations, separate but equal, espoused by Robert Stanfield in the late 1960s—which might have worked better. As Bourque put it: "Trudeau's basic idea was wrong. English Canada is more and more English, and Quebec is more and more French." Bourque feels that, except for the federal government where bilingualism is a must, Trudeau should have worked at reinforcing a French Quebec and an English-speaking Canada.

Mistaken. Laval university sociologist Lévesque believes that Trudeau's approach was overly legislative and that "we are the victims right now in Manitoba," where the Tony Opron defeated an attempt by the NDP government to extend French-language rights (page 48). Lévesque believes that Trudeau's support for official bilingualism is a perversion of the Manitoba, where the francophones make up only five per cent of the population, is irrelevant. "Such an approach cannot give good results," said Lévesque, "if it does not take into account the sociological, linguistic and demographic conditions of a society. It is one thing to protect the minority, but the cure should not kill the patient."

Quebecers are divided on whether language improvements will last Tremblay, for one, believes that bilingualism is irreversible in Ottawa. But Bourque argues that the program could stop after Trudeau. "It will take constant pressure," he said. Lévesque agrees. "It will always be a fight," he said.

It is impossible to make a final judgment on Trudeau's achievements. He has made bilingualism a reality in Canada. But as long as French Canadians have to fight in courts for that right, as long as Ontario continues to reject official bilingualism, most Quebecers will remain sceptical. And for Trudeau, at least, the battle is not over. The attention he made to the students of Montreal's L'École des Hautes Études Commerciales, just two days after his 1979 retirement, still holds true. As he said that day, "One way or another, the God-father will still be around."



Lévesque at press conference: "a worthy opponent"

of writing a memo in French."

But there was criticism along with the praise. While Trudeau pushed hard to improve relations between French-speaking Canadians and the federal government, he is widely blamed in Quebec for having reduced the Canadian identity crisis to a matter of language. Senator Arthur Tremblay, a longtime public servant under Quebec premiers Jean Lesage and Robert Bourque and a former adviser to Joe Clark, believes Trudeau's vision was too simplistic: "Canadian identity is a matter of culture, of institutions," he explained.

Tremblay and others believe that Trudeau's preoccupation with bilin-

Gilbert Lavale is Ottawa bureau chief of La Presse.

The flawed economic record of an era

By Carol Gear

Pierre Trudeau's apparently indifferent and often insensitive handling of the Canadian economy will not likely elicit his image in the eyes of posterity. But for the Canadians who rode the inflation-uneemployment roller coaster with him for nearly a decade, the Prime Minister's insensitivity to the financial problems of ordinary citizens was a continuing source of frustration. Had one cabinet minister who fought many losing battles to make Trudeau understand the pain of unemployment: "He could never see in his mind's eye a guy getting a pink slip at 48 years of age and saying, 'Help! God, what am I going to do now!'"

Trudeau presided over an era of two international oil shocks which taught Canadians how vulnerable they were to developments beyond their own borders—and ushered in an age of small,

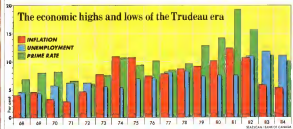
unpredictable, conflicting issues. Trudeau tried a daring succession of pro-growth government spending in the early 1970s, followed by austerity in the last half of the decade, voluntary restraint, then a price monitoring board and finally full-fledged income controls in the mid-1970s. To deal with the stubborn growth of unemployment he brought in ambitious job creation programs in the early 1970s, and again in the early 1980s. But each solution brought new problems.

Poverty. When the philosopher king swept into power in 1968, he promised "an expanding economy and faster distribution of our national wealth." But Trudeau's campaign to redistribute the country's wealth failed. When he came to power the poorest 48 per cent of the population held 15.6 per cent of the national income. Now that figure is down to 15.3 per cent. Concluded Terrance Hanley, executive director of the Ca-

bies. As well, more than half of Canadian women either have or are seeking paying jobs, in contrast to the situation 15 years ago.

But in one case the statistics tell a painful truth. In 1968-1969 the federal deficit was \$276 million. This year the projected gap between the government's revenues and its spending is approximately \$30 billion. That is an increase of more than 5,000 per cent. It contrasts with Trudeau's 1968 statement: "One promise we are going to make and we are going to keep is that of making sure we keep the economy sound by spending no more than we earn as a government."

Still, the Trudeau years did produce some victories on the economic front. The Prime Minister's efforts to give Canada back to Canadians have had a measure of success. In 1970, 25.7 per cent of the assets of all corporations in the country were foreign-controlled. By



and energy conservation. The spectre of sudden oil shortages dominated the country's prior efforts, turning inflation from a minor irritant to a powerful and unpredictable threat to the country's well-being.

Wages. The 1970s were also marked by a downward realization that there are limits to the amount of consumption, pollution, and unbridled development that a country can tolerate. In January, 1970, Trudeau told Canadians, "We are living in a new economic era—it is time we face that truth." But in the end the harsh forces of the marketplace proved a better teacher.

To counter the soaring dreams and

realities (Council on Social Development: "We declared war on poverty, and poverty won"), inflation is at almost the same level now as it was 16 years ago—5.3 per cent. But unemployment increased to 11.2 per cent from 4.5 per cent. Still, statistics often hide as much as they reveal. Although the current inflation rate is within general bounds of the 1968 figure, it has ranged from a high of 18.9 per cent (July, 1981) to a low of 1.5 per cent (in December, 1970). And the current unemployment rate reflects an utterly different world from that of 1968. The modern job market is burning at the seams with a generation of postwar ba-

tioners who have grown up with the

idea that opportunities lie dropped in their laps. Economists will likely spend years debating Trudeau's economic record. To that end, they will have to find a way to minimize how much of the economic turbulence of the past 16 years was imported from abroad and how much was stamped at home. And they will have to take into account the fact that Trudeau often urged the economy for months at a time, relying almost entirely on his finance minister. The economic track record of Canada's retiring prime minister is far from dazzling, but for most Canadians it is already beginning to fade from view.



Trudeau with Britain's Margaret Thatcher gloats that fell short of achievement.

An international presence

By John Hay

Pierre Trudeau's foreign policy travelled far in 16 years—and not only because of the hundreds of thousands of miles he logged in the road—and why? Well, the Canadian Armed Forces. When he became prime minister in 1968 Trudeau was skeptical about the value of diplomacy and he showed a disdain for diplomats verging on contempt. By the time he announced his retirement he had reached the rank of world statesman and he had gained his personal diplomacy to the major and minor political capitals. Experience seemed to expand Trudeau's sense of Canada's potential influence in the world. But his critics say that too often he failed to take full advantage of that influence to pursue his goals.

Trudeau's personal office overhauled that the foreign policy of Lester Pearson had become outdated. He was determined to make foreign policy less a reaction to foreign events and more an expression of domestic economic and social policy. But Canadian foreign policy under Trudeau became, as always, largely a response to the relentless unfolding of unpredictable events.

Pearson had sometimes appeared to

pursue international relations for their own sake, but Trudeau first sought to connect foreign policy directly to domestic needs. In 1971 Canada established diplomatic relations with China—partly for its trade potential—adequacy that distinguished Trudeau's foreign policy from Washington's in the eyes of Canadian nationalists. And in 1982 he took one more step in distancing Canada from its traditional and powerful ally by pursuing the Third Option—a policy designed to "reduce the present Canadian vulnerability to the United States by increasing ties with other parts of the world."

Nature. The Third Option was one of three main elements of Trudeau's foreign policy. He had craved personal interest in two others—international development and arms control—even before he became prime minister. But he invested little personal energy in either field until his later years in office. Not until 1978, in a widely applauded speech in London, did Trudeau embark on his North-South diplomacy with a call for a reform of international economic institutions to better serve poor countries. Through a series of summits (and in many of his 70 foreign trips as prime minister) he pressed the issue

on other leaders until the North-South summit in Caracas, Mexico, in 1981. That summit ended in considerable dissent, and Trudeau rarely worked at North-South affairs afterward.

His disarmament diplomacy began with a United Nations speech in 1976 in which he proposed the "adoption" of the arms moratorium that had been on the table and development of new weapons. He repeated the call in a 1980 TV speech and last fall he launched his intensive campaign for more vigorous arms control negotiations between the superpowers, which culminated in a meeting with the new Soviet leader, Konstantin Chernenko, last month.

Commitment. But in all three key areas Trudeau never achieved full success. Canada still sells about 70 per cent of its exports to the United States—about the same proportion as when the Third Option paper emerged. In North-South issues, Canadian foreign aid has multiplied from \$300 million in 1968-1969 to \$2.8 billion in 1983-1984. But there are still protectionist barriers to imports from poor countries—trade that could provide jobs and income in those countries and low-cost goods for Canadian consumers. And in arms control, critics contrast Trudeau's efforts for disarmament with his agreement last July to let U.S. cruise missiles be in Canada.

Foreign policy experts remain divided in their judgments of the Trudeau years. Political scientist David Cox of Queen's University, for one, praised Trudeau's analysis of world problems and his disarmament proposals. "But it is reasonable to note," added Cox, "that presently the same pattern emerges in the arms control field as in North-South issues: there is little or no translation of general purpose and declaration into specific policies." Another and former diplomat, John Holmes disagreed. Holmes said Trudeau at first overestimated a middle power's capacity to avoid "reactive" policies to cope with external events and underestimated the value of diplomacy. "His early assumptions were based on misunderstanding. But he has adjusted fairly well to realities."

Trudeau was at least a durable presence on the international scene. He sustained many of the best ideas of what he dealt—including Richard Nixon and Mao Tse-tung, Walter Mondale, who he was U.S. vice-president, was among the most flattering in his 1978 assessment of Trudeau, whom he described as a "pivotal actor in the Industrialized World." He was also a considerable presence on the world stage even while he was learning the importance of diplomacy. And over the years he acquired the stature—if not always the will—to practice international diplomacy in his best Pearsonian tradition.

The man in the mask who was true to himself

By Mary Jannigan

Above all, the man could act. The country rarely got a glimpse of the person behind the mask—Pierre Elliott Trudeau. His ability to fascinate Canadians at any public image occasioned another was legendary. But that facility, combined with his steady self-control, hurt him—and those around him—as much as it helped him in his remarkable career. Toronto MP James Fleming, for one, recalls vividly Trudeau's icy manner when he dropped him from the federal cabinet last summer, an act that left the former multicultural minister hurt and bewildered. Trudeau, a man who shrinks from being anyone, was also not understanding that day. "[He] is always so careful, always so packaged, always performing at his best," Fleming says. "A lot of us have watched for years and wondered, 'One could be me, I need your help!'"

That is a request Trudeau has rarely made, even to his closest friends. In private he is different, almost shy, self-contained and often laughably kind. In public he can assume and master any role that he wishes. His diplomatic cracks only when someone challenges him with hostility in an argument—and then he will do or say anything to win. His friends contend that he is his own greatest creation, but he is his detractors that critics has weakened his tenure.

He was born to wealth on Oct. 18, 1909. His father, Charles-Émile, launched a chain of gas stations around Montreal in 1925—and then sold it to Imperial Oil for \$1.4 million in 1930. When he died in 1938 he had doled his

profit, and his children—Suzanne, the eldest, the wife of a Montreal doctor, Pierre and his younger brother, Charles, a retired architect—are multi-millionaires.

His mother, Grace Elliott, was the lively daughter of a French-Canadian housewife and a wealthy businessman of United Empire Loyalist stock. The young Pierre spoke English to her and French to his father, and he later observed, "My father taught me order and discipline, and my mother freedom and fantasy." After his father died, Trudeau remained close to his mother, living with her until he was more than 40 and telephoning her almost every day until she died in 1973.

The first 40 years of his life, and he entered politics in 1946, show the tension of these early conflicting parental drives. For eight years—ending when he was 30—the Jesuits drilled him to reach for perfection through the discipline of will. Then he studied law, artifice and tackled more studies at Harvard, the Sorbonne and the London School of Economics. Afterward he drifted through international law, a yearling world war II lover he practiced law, law-crafted rational essays that denigrated Quebec's narrow ethnic nationalism, and often looking, exotic holidays.

Prankster. Cobourg, Ont., broadcaster Donald Newlands, who at a young man ran in the 1930s social circle at Montreal, remembers him as a "great prankster." At symphony concerts he would saunter down to the front of the stage during intermission and lean over in a hunch, and of course his entourage would carry him out head first from the hall.



With Barbara Sinclair in 1970; nursing it up on the sofa in 1960; at the Great Wall of China in 1960; with Turkel in 1972. His own greatest creation and a terror of the press

Trudeau's political star rose rapidly after he entered federal politics in 1960. By 1966 he was parliamentary secretary to Prime Minister Lester Pearson, and by 1967 he was an innovative justice minister, modernizing Canada's outmoded Criminal Code. When he finally entered the 1968 Liberal leadership race, he had the support of much of the party's old and new guard alike. A former key Liberal aide revealed that Trudeau dismissed the mistrustful denunciations which greeted the appearance of other candidates. Instead, when Trudeau entered the Ottawa arena to make his pivotal speech, a line sprinter poked him out at the entrance. Then he walked alone toward the stage until the crowd exploded with applause. "It was the most amazing entrance I have ever seen," the aide declared.

Trudeau's fascination with Quebec's role in Canada has been the touchstone of his political career. Former justice minister Mitchell Sharp said that Trudeau never had right or preconceived ideas on any subject—except for federal-provincial relations and Quebec. Quebec Intervention Minister Gérard Gidys insisted that Trudeau's theoretical approach to these two subjects was counterproductive. "It failed because he

was too much a man of reason, not passion," Gidys said. "If he had developed affection for himself and his ideas, his chances for success would have been greater." His personal credo, "Reason before passion," allowed Trudeau to hold himself above backroom plottings, but, paradoxically, his lived-in campaigns were extremely manipulative, filled with personal attacks meant to crush his opponents.

Big game. The same man lauded as disinterested, but allowed Liberals to wallow in petroage. He was more at home abroad than in Western Canada. In cabinet he conducted a largely democratic debate, but could not bring warmth and spirit to discussions. As a senior minister said, "There's no feeling of being on a team." Added another key Trudeau confidant: "The downside is that he has not been a warm, embracing, comfortable leader—but the other side is the strength of that defect, a rigorous, almost Cartesian realism in the assessment of facts and choices."

Trudeau's private life has always provided grist for the gossip mills—starting with his earliest dates with show business stars like Barbara Sinclair. But Trudeau looked past Hollywood attractions when he decided to

marry, choosing Margaret Sinclair, the daughter of a former Liberal Finance minister from Vancouver. They married in 1971, when he was 62 and she was 32, and had three sons, Justin, now 12, Sasha, now 10, and Michel, now 8. But Margaret chafed in the restrictive role of prime minister's wife, declaring that she was more than a rose in her husband's lapel. After they separated in May, 1977, she launched Trudeau with a series of widely publicized, scathing indictments. Trudeau responded with a new persona: a dignified single parent returning in late middle age to the rituals of dating. This time the women on his arm were either accomplished artists like ballerina Karen Kam or star-struck girls avid at being in the Prime Minister's presence.

Trudeau's private faults and virtues were as marked as his public ones. He was notoriously careful with money despite his large fortune. During the 1980 campaign, when his advisers insisted that he had to buy new clothes to match the image of Trudeau as a reformer leader, he agreed—provided the party paid for them (it did).

Trudeau could not laugh at himself but he never lost his pranksterish quality. He and his ministers once argued for

weeks over the purchase of a sophisticated piece of military equipment. Bureaucrats listed the advantages, drawbacks and alternatives while everyone around the cabinet table tried to reach a decision. Finally, on the last possible day, Trudeau asked the civil servants to leave the room, turned to his worried ministers, then grinned. "Well, shall we flip a coin?" he asked.

Intense. There are only brief glimpses of the man behind the images, and even when he was considering resigning, he chose once again to display his self-control. Four days before he walked out into a storm to think about his future, Trudeau talked to an old friend, pianist Lucie Roy. She said she was ending a year's sabbatical from performing. "A sabbatical sounds like a new thing," Trudeau replied. But even though he asked her numerous questions about her plans, he gave no further hint of his own difficult decision. Clearly, Trudeau preferred to leave public life as he entered it: still the intensely private man beyond the legend.

With Patricia Mackay in Toronto, Carol Goss, John Hay and James Riley in Ottawa, Michael Chapiro in Halifax and Anthony Wilson-John in Montreal.



Pierre, 62, in Venice, Italy



PERFORMANCE IS A LOT OF DIFFERENT THINGS TO A LOT OF DIFFERENT PEOPLE.



To a lot of people, it's Saab.

To some enthusiasts, performance hinges heavily on a car's ability to burn a black rubber stripe on the asphalt, and move unerringly through corkscrew twists and curves. Of course, grinding to a precise, straight, arrow-straight is another prerequisite. It's what we call the "torture test" concept of performance. First, although it has some merit, we believe that true performance has more depth.

At Saab, we believe that performance is multi-faceted. A mature blending of the "torture test" with a brimming measure of comfort, functional luxury, safety, and fuel economy. Does such a car actually exist?

Yes it does.

It all exists in a lightly engineered automotive package called the Saab 900. To the people at Saab, performance begins on the drawing board—with solid engineering. At every stage of production, there is a single-mindedness of purpose: create a car that will satisfy the most demanding driver, no matter how far-reaching his demands may be. It's always been that way at Saab—and always will be.

With an outlook as perceptive as that, it's not surprising that every Saab is a virtual motherlode of automotive innovation. For example, Saab introduced the hatchback in 1972. Although

it took a few years for the competition to come around to our way of thinking, the fact that most manufacturers now offer at least one hatchback model would seem to speak favourably of its practical wisdom. Today, many automakers are extolling the virtues of their new heated driver's seats. They talk of comfort, and they speak, quite rightly, of what effect this comfort has on safety. What you'll never hear, however, is that Saab introduced the heated driver's seat in 1970. They've almost caught up—but not quite. Now, all new Saabs have a heated front passenger seat too.

The headlamp wash/wipe system is another innovation Saab introduced to Canada. It's significant to note that the wash/wipe system is now required, by law, on all cars in Sweden—a country whose climate is strikingly similar to ours. To anyone who's driven from Toronto to Montreal or Vancouver to Whistler in January, the contribution of this innovation to driving safety and convenience needs no further explanation.

One quick step ahead.

The positive effects of turbo-charging have long been acknowledged by the racing fraternity—where acceleration and maximum efficiency are paramount. Strangely enough, until 1977 no one gave serious thought to its application in passenger cars. Once again, Saab's

innovative spirit came to the fore and the car of the eighties took to the road—the Saab Turbo.

About the time everyone was catching on to our 1977 idea, the engineers at Saab laid a winning card on the table. The Turbo APC. APC means Automatic Performance Control and it's a Saab exclusive. Through a brilliantly simple system of sensors and regulators, APC continuously monitors engine performance and optimizes turbo response. You get consistently exceptional turbo performance—the kind that'll make you forget forever the sizzling V8 you lusted after as a youth. Now the turbocharger has a brain, and turbocharging takes a cerebral leap forward.

Get total performance.

Assuming everything we've said here is true—and we assure you that it is—why would anyone want to buy another car? Sure, there are good cars available. But what we can't understand is why anyone would settle for "good"—when "great" starts at under \$16,000?

If you want performance, absolute performance, settle into the cockpit of a Saab 900 or Saab Turbo APC for a test drive. It'll turn your mind around on what real performance is supposed to be. Frankly, if you're not sold—we'll be surprised. For more information, call toll free 1-800-268-6364 (in British Columbia call 604-268-6364).



SAAB

Swedish engineering. Depend on it.

The legacy of the War Measures Act

By George Bain

Fourteen years after Ottawa invoked the War Measures Act, controversy still surrounds the October Crisis—perhaps the most contentious single issue of the Trudeau era. At the time, with separatist violence supposedly threatening Canada's security, a heavy air of uneasiness hung over

hail. According to one poll, 86 per cent approved—a virtual acclamation.

Although the Liberals came close to losing the next election in 1976—they took 108 seats while the Conservatives under Robert Stanfield won 107—the so-called crisis was no part of the explanation. If anything, Pierre Trudeau's resolve, as it was then to be, was part of the diminished list of positive factors

John Turner and former Quebec premier Robert Bourassa, have not hurried to try to define them.

The crisis began on Oct. 3, 1970, when four people kidnapped British diplomat James (Jasper) Cross from his Westmount home. Five days later two men abducted Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte. The kidnappings were the work of two cells of a raging extremist

suicide Act, triggering the first of more than 400 arrests, most of them in Montreal.

Murder: The discovery of Pierre Laporte's body on Oct. 18 in the trunk of a car left near an air-base south of Montreal struck hard at the Quebec government, and the effect of that blow subsequently damaged relations between Quebec City and Ottawa. But the murder occurred after, not before, the War Measures Act came into force—and may even have resulted from it. The government's abrupt, dramatic move could have been what forced the handful of terrorists to commit such a desperate act.

not nearly as firm as his words. It took four days after the proclamation of the War Measures Act to bring the 1st Battalion of the Royal Canadian Mounted to Ottawa. The 400 soldiers arrived fresh from peacekeeping duties in Cyprus, where they had been separating more clearly identified combatants. Even before that, the Trudeau government had given the RMA a propaganda coup. Ottawa accepted an RMA demand that television and radio newscasters broadcast its manifesto. It fell. The federal government also agreed to a concession that the Quebec government first offered the kidnappers. They included parole for some "political pris-

oners" and the amnesty. It is also unclear why Ottawa cited information from Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau and Lucien Savaria, the city's chief executive officer, about subversive activities to justify its actions on suspect separatists. One year earlier it had dismissed similar information from the same sources.

Ordinary law: What remains 14 years later is the impression that government—primarily the federal government, although it insisted it acted only at the request of the Quebec government and Montreal—suspended civil rights and called out the army for reasons that are still unclear. There is no proof of a suc-



The military and the Mounties on Parliament Hill in 1970, the Bourassa lower Laporte: tension and confusion

Ottawa. Soldiers crawling machine-guns and riding in Jeeps along normally staid Wellington Street were common, if startling, sights. On Halloween night an armed soldier stood outside one cabinet minister's house handing out candy to masked children but forbidding them to approach any closer. Yet another cabinet minister, sheltered in home country, had to take a soldier with him when he went to pick up wood at a local lumber yard. But despite a mixture of tension and surrealism, the government's handling of the crisis was not politically controversial at the time.

Polls taken in the fall of 1970 merely put numbers to what was already evident in letters to the editor, radio phone-in shows and MP's mail. Canadians liked the government for invoking the 86-year-old War Measures Act with the powers it conferred on police to search and arrest without a warrant, to jail without charge and to hold without

for the Liberals. It was only in the subsequent years that more reservations developed about the wisdom and morality of calling out troops and summarily jailing hundreds of people in response to a largely undefined threat. But the loose fingers on the scale in the national subconscious. Overall, the October Crisis has been to Trudeau's political advantage because it laid the foundations of the strong leader and grandfather image he traded on in later years.

Harmful: Historians may yet exceed that judgment. More books have been written on Trudeau's career during his term in office than on any other Canadian politician. But there are large gaps in the records of the affair, and questionable information given at the time still awaits revision. Even now the outlines of the "apprehended murderers" are hard to find. And the principal actors, Trudeau, then Justice Minister

organizer called the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ). Although the abductees demanded a \$500,000 gold ransom for Cross's release, their purpose, as stated in a ransom note to the police, was largely political—"to free 25 political prisoners" whom the eyes of the law were simply criminals. Only later did the authorities learn that no one had coordinated the kidnappings and that the decision to seize Laporte had been made virtually on a whim. Contrary to government and police fears of the time, there was no grand design behind the terrorist actions, and it is contradictory that the FLQ could have carried out such a master plan even if it had possessed one. Still, edgy authorities in Quebec City, Montreal and Ottawa saw the kidnappings as an initial episode of an attack by an organization capable of undermining the entire state. It was on that belief that they acted, and at 4 a.m. on Oct. 18 Ottawa invoked the War Mea-



The October Crisis is now enshrined in the national mythology. It has become the story of a government in Ottawa, and especially a prime minister, steady of purpose, answering, willing to put down a threat to Canadian democracy. Trudeau himself said in a national broadcast on Oct. 16 that the criminal law was not adequate to deal with systematic terrorism—a considerable overstatement of the FLQ's potency. Trudeau went on to say that it implicated the War Measures Act. "The government is acting... to protect your life and liberty," he then suggested that such extremist talk, coupled with the call to the military, might also reflect panic and confusion or contribute a calculated effort to stimulate a sense of national danger.

With the passage of time, the lingering image of the October Crisis is of Trudeau saying, "Just watch me" when a reporter asked him how far he was prepared to go in support of law and order. But the actions he took were



acts, promises of leniency in court and an arrangement to fly the kidnappers out of the country—an offer the FLQ kidnappers later accepted.

Blunder: It is still unclear how much of the events in Ottawa that fall—the extravagant protection of ministers, for one—was playacting. Certainly there was some playacting in the House of Commons. Of a similar "parade of power," which the Prime Minister professed to see challenging elected authority, nothing has ever been revealed but a grabby handful of criminals with revolutionary pretensions. And the secret information that Turner claimed would expose everything still remains secret today. Jean Marchand, the principal Quebec minister after Trudeau, told the Commons that an "organization which has thousands of guns, rifles, machine-guns, bombs and about 2000 30 of dynamite, more than enough to blow up the core of downtown Montreal," was at work in Quebec. But no one has ever unearthed either the ex-

isting crisis of the nature Ottawa described to justify its invocation of the War Measures Act, although a political crisis developed later as the Bourassa government began to disintegrate over the death of Pierre Laporte.

The threat to legitimate authority, if it was the real as well as the ostensible justification for the dramatic actions Ottawa took, has disappeared. Historians are left with two possibilities: that the government playacted to give the appearance of decisive action over kidnapping immediately to ordinary police investigators or that the crisis was really a covert plan to use the occasion to stamp on the rising Parti Québécois.

Certainly, Parti Québécois advocates were prominent among the 400 arrests made, but the police had few charges against them. And Trudeau, then as now, did not make the distinction between separatists who hoped to prevail by peaceful means and those who advocated terror to further their cause.



Turner in Jamaica last week: the sheen of a golden boy who charmed back-benchers and reassured the business community

COVER

Turner's quest for a quick coronation

By Mary Jvanigan

Throughout eight years of corporate exile, the John Turner myth has nourished the Liberals and unsettled the Conservatives. Any time the voters complained about the aloof Pierre Trudeau, the Liberals dreamed of replacing him with the glamorous and politically astute Turner. And whenever the Tories roared in the polls, they were haunted by the prospect that Turner would sweep back into public life from his lucrative law practice and win the next election. Now that the Prime Minister has called for a leadership convention, Turner can easily galvanize his supporters into a formidable campaign machine. But time—and a notoriously forgetful Trudeau, who staped much longer than expected—has taken its toll. With the candidate and his closest advisers are usually aware that the country, the party and the government of 1984 are radically different from

those Turner knew when he resigned from cabinet in 1976. And the myths that make Turner appealing can also crumble if he cannot live up to them.

Strength. If Turner enters the race on March 16, when he says he will announce his decision, he will have significant initial advantages over the contenders. Although he has not officially supported a campaign organization, he has a network of political allies across the nation. Many of those friendships were forged during his unsuccessful bid for the party leadership in 1968 and they became known as the 106 Club, after the number of votes Turner got on the fourth and final ballot. And all of the ties are based on a deep personal loyalty. Quebec MP Roland Cormier said that Turner supporters are poised to spring to action in 56 of the province's 75 ridings. "He [Turner] does not give any instructions to anybody," said Cormier. "We can do that by ourselves—

we know exactly what to do."

As a candidate Turner has strong roots—and strong allies—in British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec. He is weak in the Atlantic provinces. His campaign manager will likely be Vancouver lawyer John Smith. Lloyd Axworthy, a former aide and now federal transport minister, will probably organize the Prairies. In Montreal former law partner James Robb, publisher John de St. Payne and Montreal Stock Exchange Director Julius Silverman are active, and in Halifax Turner can probably count on former party president Senator Al Graham. Many members of the party's elite, such as Ontario Liberal Leader David Peterson and Quebec's André Ouellet, the federal minister of labor, support him. Disaffected party veterans, such as former party president Norman MacLeod, also back him. Senator Keith Dewar, the pragmatic Trudeau loyalist, has been making other prospective candidates to retire from

the race to make way for Turner. And some key young performers, such as Ontario activist Alfred Appa, 27, applied him for understanding how a party functions. "Turner is the only one with the strength to do the required housecleaning," said Appa. "There is a wide consensus among Liberals 25 to 35 years of age that it is John Turner's time."

Should Turner win the Liberal crown, it will have been a long time coming for the Rhodes Scholar, lawyer and veteran politician. Born in England on June 7, 1926, the only son of a British Columbia miner's daughter and a British journalist, he was raised to be a leader. When his father died in 1935, his mother, Phyllis, brought John and his sister, Brenda, to Ottawa and raised them on a government economist's salary. Her job was challenging, and in the early war years ministers such as C.D. Howe gathered for discussions at the family home. By the time his mother married powerful Vancouver industrialist Francis Ross in 1946, Turner had absorbed "a real sense of the excitement of the public service." In 1958 Princess Margaret dated with Turner, then a rising young lawyer, at a party Ross gave in her honor. Amid conflicting and audacious rumors of romance, the Turner legend blossomed.

Dilettante. Invested with an aura of glamour, Turner advanced easily. He hardly won the Liberal nomination in a Montreal riding in 1962—and then won the election. In December, 1965, Prime Minister Lester Pearson named him to the minor cabinet post of minister without portfolio and then elevated him to regular government and minister affairs minister. In 1968 he finished a distant third on the first ballot in the leadership race that elected Trudeau. Under the new prime minister Turner moved through the pools of solicitor general and justice minister to the powerful finance portfolio in 1972. As the Tories rose past out, federal spending soared more than 20 per cent in both 1973 and 1974—when Turner was finance minister—and Canada entered a decade of big and burgeoning deficits. Turner also instituted the practice of "indexing" income tax deductions to the inflation rate, a measure that is now deployed by many cabinet ministers because it means an annual tax cut without the political risk.

Still, Turner doped as enviable reputation in international finance circles. Although he lost budget in 1977, he was his least popular because times were getting tougher, he acquired the political sheen of a golden boy who charmed the back-benchers and reassured the business community. He was the first senior Canadian to be invited to be included as a member in the exclusive Big Five club of the World Bank that



MacLeod and (above) Appa. Turner struck out; Trudeau was bewitched



breakthrough took place during an annual bank meeting in Washington in mid-1976. Then U.S. Treasury Secretary William E. Simon invited him to join the finance ministers of Britain, France, West Germany and Japan for a meeting aboard the presidential yacht Sequoia for a cruise on the Potomac. That event led Gerald Ford, U.S. president at the time, to include Prime Minister Trudeau for the first time—against strong French opposition—in a consensus summit (in Puerto Rico). When he left cabinet abruptly in September, 1975, Turner was at the peak of his power. And when he resigned from the Commons in February, 1980, to practice law at McMillen, Birch & Turner, the legend was intact—and almost untouchable.

Since then Turner has rarely spoken out in public, although his bitter assessments of the Trudeau government were legendary, and both the man and his opinions have become divided by his eight-year absence from public life. Both his friends and his critics continue to paint a fascinating portrait of a man who believes to be where the action is—with the world's "big hitters." He firmly believes that politics is a worthy public duty and he recognizes that with a high sense of integrity but he also finds politics exciting and he believes that politicians are important. He has confided to friends that if he does not run in 1984, he will probably accept the last opportunity for the rest of his life. Trudeau told biographer George Radwanski that Turner "generally was right on when we'd be talking about politics and his feelings for the country and whether we could get by with this new or whether we couldn't—he was a good politician."

Seething. In the late 1970s Turner and a law partner published a chatty corporate newsletter for select clients at \$15,000 per client a year. The letters included scathing assessments of such possible leadership contenders as Energy Minister Jean Charest. The short-lived letters were masterful analyses of who had influence and who did not—and why. Former aide David Smith, who worked on the newsletter, said that Turner knows how to answer his a good team. "And he is incredibly knowledgeable and understands politics," he added. "I remember once when I was on the phone with him, I had to go because the bells were ringing [in his MPs] for a vote. He said, 'I could just hang back the phone up—he wanted to hear the bells again.'"

Although he yearns occasionally for the bells, Turner has built up a good and full life in Toronto. At work he is a busy man for his firm, always on the big deal, such as representing a client bank in discussions with the pres-

ident of Mexico. He drives a Volkswagen Rabbit but he lives in an expensive house in Toronto's Forest Hill.

His friends say he is warm and thoughtful. Smith said that Turner often remembers his birthday before he himself does. "And he likes to recognize achievement," added Smith. "When my wife was appointed a judge, he sent no card—he came over with two bottles of champagne to celebrate." He enjoys such sports as skiing and squash, loves music (The Mopas Place is his favorite opera) and reads biographical and historical books. He often drags in on friends unexpectedly, sometimes in the middle of a party, grabs a drink and leaves spontaneously with complete strangers. In close gatherings he plays the piano and sings. Above all, he values his home life with his wife, Gaila, the daughter of David Kilgour, president of Great-West Life Assurance of Winnipeg. They met in 1962 and they have four children: Elizabeth, 18, Michael, 18, David, 16, and Andrew, 13. Turner is also a devout Roman Catholic. Every year the entire family goes canoeing in the North. Turner has even published a pamphlet on how to avoid leaving camping traces. And he always sets aside time for family outings. "I remember that he would call me to go to his daughter's birthday party," recalled a former Liberal aide.

His many friends and former colleagues differ about the quality and originality of Turner's mind. A former assistant said that Turner is not only "a quick study but he has the extra dimension of being able to appreciate the ramifications of political and historical events. But meeting Turner impressed fellow delegates with his ability to analyse the effects of alternative proposals on each nation. Another former colleague commented that it is difficult to estimate the depth of Turner's intelligence "because he is so fast on his feet, and because he uses blunt words and clichés and platitudes."

Friends and former colleagues also differ about his toughness. Many believe that a deep insecurity lies just beneath his surface of hearty "guy" public image. Although Turner insists that he fought the Trudeau government

spending increases, he often left the cabinet battles to his stern deputy minister, Simon Ruxton. With the exception of a successful, all-out fight against a guaranteed annual income plan in early 1975, the Finance minister said "no" but he rarely went to the wall. "He had no feeling, no gut, no soul," complained a former key Liberal aide.

Perhaps because of his insecurity, Turner adopted a sportsman's personality with out-of-date slang that he can turn on or off at will. The slang is not incoherent. Turner loves sports and thoroughly enjoys the company of athletes. But his conversations are often, as one friend put it, "fastest hypersensitive. The louder he often roared, the talk is incoherent. He impresses people but he does not often put them at ease."



Compiling for Toronto Liberal James Polson in 1976 in front

Ontario election—against him. Others charge that he left when the economy was getting rough and that he only stayed for the good times, although these views have been somewhat stifled by the party's overwhelming need to find a charismatic winner. Turner and his strategists are well aware that the popularity of the 1970s could mean an "aging rock" image in 1984. Since he left active politics, there has been a whole new generation of young Liberals, and he is out of touch with many key party reformers. Policy-minded delegates do not know where he stands on issues. And because the Liberals hope to win the next election by building a coalition of voters and ethnic voters, he cannot afford to offend those groups with what might be seen as an elitist, male-dominated campaign.

Even if Turner does win the leadership and leads the Conservatives, his government would probably do better with the business community than a Trudeau one—if only because he has his trust, coupled with a budget record of avoiding corporate tax breaks. He is less a neutralist than Trudeau is. In 1977 he said that the fields of culture, recreation, health, welfare, housing, urban policy, agriculture and some aspects of immigration were "negotiable" and could be largely left to the provinces. But one of Turner's problems is that he has not formulated policies on current issues because he has not been fully briefed on them. When he left Ottawa there was no controversial national priority program. He is not familiar with the current system of raising government finances through "aging envelopes," which set strict limits on national spending on major policies. And he has never worked with a government that relies on neutral agencies to set such overall priorities as economic or social development.

Supporters contend that Turner can learn fast. And they point out that he has a political record of insisting that ministers, not civil servants, run departments. They also say he will put more emphasis on the working of Parliament itself. If Turner runs, the question is not so much what he could do as whether he could undo the political mistakes of the previous Trudeau years. The party must decide if he is a fresh face for 1984—or a liability from 1973.

Farewell to a man of mystery

By Peter C. Newman

He appeared from nowhere, an unknown shadowy man in suits, and lay down to die.

That first election campaign of Pierre Trudeau's was a combination of coercion and Berlin's test. Clashes of temperaments with masses of screaming hair gripped the public imagination. Photographs of Pierre-baby to their chests and shrieked wherever he dares to kiss one of their screaming nannies. Because soldiers held on their parents' shoulders were admitted to "remember him" as someone who served the country. I recall in particular one landing in Dartmouth, N.S. We in his 1968 media entourage trudged down the plane steps on May 29 into a cold, drizzly night. That was walk-to-wall. Truly rainy, but along the route from the airport, as if on a prearranged signal, people came out on their porches in waves at the procession. Many had barked their cars into driveways so that they could flash their headlights in welcome to the great man.

Mr. Trudeau had the knack not so much of capturing the people's hearts or minds—his has always been too steadfast faith for that—but of connecting intuitively with their nervous system. Standing beside a Liberal nation as a party function in the Chateau Laurier during that first election campaign, I noticed that just before Trudeau was due to be ushered through the door she stiffened, turned to her huge block of a nude-bared husband and whined, "What if I find when he comes in?" The husband sneezed down his Bayreuther's jocks and pulled his eyes heavenward with a look of total disgust. When Trudeau looked by and happened to shake the man's hand, his eyes glared over and he quietly started to sneeze.

It was not long afterward that a different reality began to set in. Trudeau defied the office of prime minister in his own image. Bizarre, austere and heretically self-contained, he eventually revealed himself as an emotional creature—a man whose blue-ice inner core remained inviolate, no matter what. Distracted by lesser mortal affairs, his face would harden, his eyes tighten from having squandered into too many light glances and humiliations. The abrupt, the flagrant, the bold, the intrusive and will make him difficult to follow. Yet he was as executive and disarming as a Pensive slater.

He was always a star and will move now to another quarter of the firmament, but Canadian politics has never been meant for stars.

He thought of himself as Charles de Gaulle on the Rhine and, like the French general, believed that a man's grandeur grows in direct proportion to his loneliness. But in partisan matters, such as Senate appointments, he often behaved with the crudeness of a Hong Kong. Too many times he has equated the slightest signs of dissent with stupidity.



Trudeau, silent tribute to a great man

ity or dilatory or both, so that in the end, as one—with the possible exception of Senator Keith Davey—would molly him.

It was true that all of us bore down Trudeau with too much hope for any leader to fulfil, but ultimately it was not what Trudeau did or didn't do that left us so disillusioned. It was what he never did. As prime minister, Trudeau projected a shimmering intellect. He was by long odds the most resolute political leader

this country has ever seen. But in his tendency to strafe dissent, even in his own ranks, there was a tragic fallacy. Trudeau's character was not the means by which Canadian society has always come to terms with change. Trudeau and his inner core believed that they could impose logic on events, that they could govern the country through judgments and resolutions, what was happening. It was those judgments. But the events themselves—history, in other words—were not logical and never could be. They were born out of harsh realities and even harsher emotions, which could not be left to any leader's wit or good intentions.

Carleton: He faced the insoluble dilemma of every professor who dares to enter the political arena: the intellectual seeks truth, the politician power, and the two quite operate in separate orbits.

Still, his bravura style put on as the map. London's Daily Sketch once him as "the world's seventh-wisest man," he brought home our Constitution, his regime outlasted virtually every other contemporary world leader, and he crusaded valiantly for peace. He passed much worthy legislation. To a whole generation he became our first constitutional politician, the guy with the rose in his buttonhole.

He never changed—but we did. When, through Trudeau's hand, was that he couldn't control his reach to the whole of the country he was governing. Canadian prime ministers have been successful only by sharing their authority with sector colonies from the early founding colonies. Trudeau couldn't or wouldn't field a credible non-French francophone, and the 12 million Canadians who live west of Toronto's Hamlet River never felt at ease in his world. An administration that was to have been as elegantly programmed as a 19th-century computer finally evolved into a troupe of carlini performers behaving with self-indulgent abandon.

Canada's 15th prime minister leaves office still in command of his personal wealth and not very different from the sophisticated organizer he was when we welcomed him—in that hopeful spirit of '68. The difference between the Canada that greeted Pierre Trudeau and the Canada that overruled him 16 years later is a quantity marked by the intrusion of the warm, the cold, the that created him and the cold fury that now bids him adieu.





Premier Pawley (right) follows Lt-Gov. Pearl McGonigal from the legislature after pronunciation, accusing disapproving positions

CANADA

A new phase in the language battle

After weeks of bitter controversy and legislative turmoil, the contentious proposals died quietly. It took Manitoba Lt.-Gov. Pearl McGonigal only five minutes last week to proscribe the legislature and to resign to history the attempt by Premier Howard Pawley's New Democratic government to extend language rights to the province's 50,000 francophones. But the death of the proposed legislation did not spell the end of the divisive issue, which now goes before the Supreme Court of Canada. And, while Pawley's government—with its popularity at an all-time low—looked ahead to an uncertain future, a growing rift between federal and Manitoba Conservatives over the language question widened, posing a problem for the Tories that Pierre Trudeau's successor could exploit to the extent that it is likely later this year.

Pawley's government had no choice but to abandon the language legislation, which would have symbolically declared Manitoba bilingual and provided limited government services in French. For more than six weeks the Opposition Conservatives frustrated every attempt to bring the matter to a vote by walking

out of the legislature. When the Speaker of the House rejected Pawley's plan for a vote to be called without the Tories present, the fate of the language proposal was sealed. Even Parliament's eleventh-hour, all-party resolution calling on the Manitoba government to persist in its efforts was futile. At a news conference Pawley blamed the legislation's death on a "small group of extremists" within the Conservative party and accused the Tories of "disgusting, disgraceful" tactics.

For party leader Gary Filmon's provincial Tories it was a significant, but perhaps costly, victory. The party's rejection of bilingualism put it embarrassingly at odds with federal Tory Leader Brian Mulroney's staunch support of the francophone cause. That split could become serious, admitted Tory M.L.A. and former premier Sterling Lyon, "if the federal party is further barreled into getting into what is really a practical matter."

The same is already causing problems in the federal Conservative caucus. Mulroney has ordered Tory M.P.s and "would-be members of the caucus" to support the party's endorsement of in-

creased francophone rights in Manitoba. But three Manitoba M.P.s have publicly questioned that stand, and the issue is putting pressure on M.L.A. Bill Sherman. He is joining the Conservative federal coalition in Winnipeg-Port Garry in a bid to unseat Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy—one of the Liberals' two western M.P.s. But because of the prominent role Sherman played in defeating the 1987 language proposals, Mulroney will not be guest speaker at the nomination meeting, expected to be held next month, and there have been hints that the federal party might support another candidate for the nomination. Axworthy may be in trouble too. Many of his Port Garry constituents objected to his impassioned House of Commons speech last week supporting francophone rights in Manitoba.

In the meantime, the defeat of the M.P.s' attempt at a legislative solution means that the courts will now have to rule on the tangled historical question of language rights in the province. Despite an earlier federal law, which gave French official status in Manitoba, the legislature in 1980 made English the sole official language. Then, in 1982,

That deep, deep black. That lean, swift shape. That recognized symbol of boating excitement. A Mercury™ outboard.

It's a machine made for your dreams. And a machine made to run like a dream, engineered to deliver the kind of superior performance and dependability that make a Merc one of boating's best investments.

MORE EXCITEMENT FROM MERC.

In 1984, the Mercury dream machines offer you more than ever before, including a new 2.2 model that's small, light and Mercury tough.

And behind every Merc stands the Mercury Outboards System, the marine industry's strongest manufacturer-to-dealer-to-customer network ever. From the newest technology to dealers who help you buy right. The System keeps Mercury owners satisfied.

MAKE YOUR DREAM COME TRUE.

Over 6,000 Mercury dealers worldwide are ready to show you what the 1984 Mercury dream machines can do.

Now's the time to make your boating dream as real as a sunrise over a fish-filled mountain lake. Now's the time to make it a Merc.

DREAM MACHINE.



MERCURY
OUTBOARDS

The possible dream.

language lawyer Roger Blais, decided to challenge the constitutionality of the law after he received a speeding ticket issued only in English. He postponed his case before the Supreme Court of Canada when the Pavey government offered to extend French-language services. But last week Blais's lawyer asked the court to put his client's case back on the docket. Blais's case, which is likely to be reinforced by challenges put forward by the Société Franco-Manitobaine (SM), could be heard as early as April, with a ruling possible in the fall.

A Supreme Court ruling in favor of Manitoba's francophones could require as many as 18 provinces to change policies in the province—and which ultimately may defy legal or legislative solution. At the heart of the issue are two vastly different interpretations of the province's history and laws. Leaders of Manitoba's francophone community whose ancestors were Manitoba's original settlers—argue that, legally, Manitoba should be a bilingual province today, even though francophones make up only five per cent of the population. But opponents of that view point to the province's nothing but no-frills. For Grant Russell, spokesman for Manitoba Grassroots—the broadly based movement that staged rallies to protest the Pavey government's measures—the fact is that bilingualism would make Manitobans of German, Ukrainian and Polish extraction into "third-class citizens" while forcing francophones into "linguistic ghettos."

For his part, Pavey believes that western Canadian opposition to the introduction of bilingualism in the federal government and civil service over the past 30 years clouded the issue in Manitoba. Pavey thought that his language proposals merely recognized historical fact and that "we were breaking the new ground." But a Winnipeg Free Press poll showed that 76 per cent of the Manitobans surveyed believed that the SM legislation would force them to learn French and would reduce job prospects for anglophones. "I was amazed," said Pavey. "The problem," commented Roger Blais, "is one of ignorance, not bigotry."

Having failed in its attempt to solve Manitoba's language dispute, the Pavey government was left to contend with new problems. The Free Press poll also disclosed that if an election were held now, the SM would win only 11 per cent of the vote. And, paradoxically, Pavey's government may well have to go before the Supreme Court to oppose the Blais case, which, if upheld, could require thousands of laws passed only in English since 1890 and create legal chaos in the province.

—ANDREW NIKITFORIS in Winnipeg

An ugly lockout in B.C.

Only four months have passed since British Columbia's militant labor movement took the province to the edge of a general strike in protest against the restraint policies of B.C.'s Social Credit government. But any semblance of solidarity among the province's three largest forest unions was shattered last week as some members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) defied labor tradition and crossed picket lines shrouded up by their fellow associates. As violence erupted on the picket lines, there were fears among union leaders that the ugly and expensive—at an estimated cost to the B.C. economy of \$10 million a day—dispute might provide Premier William Bennett's government with a perfect excuse to impose new restrictions on labor in Canada's most untamed province.

The origins of the dispute go back to

companies and angered the pulp and paperworkers' unions, which wanted a two-year contract.

The establishment of union picket lines brought a terse response from IWA leader Jack Mann, who called the move "irresponsible" and "unsmart." Mann nevertheless urged his members to respect the pickets. But some 300 to 500 IWA members defiantly crossed the picket lines and went to work anyway. At the Shelley sawmill near Prince George, scuffles broke out when logging trucks crossed picket lines as IWA members waited to enter the plant. In Mackenzie, 370 km north of Prince George, pickets heaved rocks and sticks when nonunion logging trucks barreled through picket lines. As tensions grew, Art Kube, president of the B.C. Federation of Labour, pleaded with union leaders for calm. "We don't want



Picket-line scuffle in Shelley, B.C.: a violent break in the unions' common front

early February when negotiations between pulp and paper workers (who have been without a contract since last July) and 14 companies broke down, and the firms imposed a lockout. Then two weeks ago the locked-out members of the Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers of Canada and the Canadian Paperworkers Union began picketing sawmills owned by the companies that locked them out. That angered some members of the 46,000-strong IWA, which had just signed a memorandum of agreement for a three-year contract with forestry companies in December after long layoffs. The deal broke the three unions' common front against the

companies in the trade union movement," said Kube. "We want the companies to remove the lockout."

The union warfare could play into the hands of the Bennett government, which is known to be considering legislation to outlaw secondary picketing. And there were soundings in the legislature and from The Employers' Council of British Columbia to do something about the unruly labor situation. Said IWA's western vice-president, Neil Menard, "I am sure that right now the Social Credit government and the employers are sitting with smiles on their faces and rubbing their hands together."

—JANE O'NEALE in Vancouver

PONTIAC BUILDS

Excitement

CAR AND DRIVER MAGAZINE AGREES:

PONTIAC 6000 STE

"...still the nicest four-door sedan Detroit has to offer the enthusiast driver...Pontiac's general manager announced that his division was going to start building excitement...Now, by golly, Pontiac has gone and done just that!"

CAR AND DRIVER, January, 1984

PONTIAC FIERO

"...breaks all the rules set by the timid...Pontiac even developed a unique manufacturing technique...the kind of value and appeal that guarantees a sure winner."

CAR AND DRIVER, January, 1984

The editors of CAR AND DRIVER magazine have selected Pontiac 6000 STE and Fiero as two of their "10 Best" cars of 1984 (outlet for under \$20,000 U.S.).

They organized the innovation, quality and excellence of the 1984 Pontiacs at first dealer's.



Mid-Engine Drive Only Built in Detroit

Pontiac 6000 STE luxury sedan

The "What If?" Shopping Lists for IBM Personal Computer Software.

What is a "What If?" Shopping List?
It is a list designed to help you select the IBM Personal Computer Software (and hardware) that suits your own computing needs—in the office, classroom or lunch room.

Take a look at the six lists below, and see which one best describes what you want to do with your IBM Personal Computer. Then clip out the list and take it to your local IBM Product Centre or Authorized IBM Personal Computer Dealer. They can demonstrate the IBM Personal Computer Software to help you decide. It's that simple.

For the location nearest you,
call 1-800-256-7791.
(In N.C. 112-688-266-7791)



IBM is a registered trademark of International Business Machines Corporation. IBM, IBM logo and IBM Personal Computer are registered trademarks of International Business Machines Corporation.

What if you run a small business?

- ☐ **IBM Accounting** helps manage your books and gives you profit and loss financial reports in a flash.
- ☐ **IBM Accounts Receivable** and **Accounts Payable** programs help you manage outgoing and incoming cash.
- ☐ **IBM Inventory Control** gives you a fast and accurate way to keep track of what's in stock and what's not.
- ☐ **As an IBM Personal Computer** you could be the owner for just over \$1200. A microcomputer helps without prior programming skills. The IBM PC and the disk operating system that allows you to use your computer to run software programs makes you distinct.

What if you manage a lot of data?

- ☐ **IBM dBase™ III+™** is a database manager that can give you a record of two figures, names and numbers.
- ☐ **IBM dBase™ III+™** helps you create a record of your files with reference numbers, statistics and graphs.
- ☐ **IBM Personal Editor** offers powerful word processing capabilities that help you write your documents.
- ☐ **IBM Communications Communications** lets you talk to databases and to other IBM Personal Computers.
- ☐ **As an IBM Personal Computer** you can be the owner for just over \$1200. A microcomputer helps without prior programming skills. The IBM PC and the disk operating system that allows you to use your computer to run software programs makes you distinct.

What if you plan and forecast?

- ☐ **IBM Modelplan** helps you create financial worksheets for financial modeling, using simple equations.
- ☐ **IBM Personal Editor** lets you write, enter, edit and print your documents. It helps you create and edit documents.
- ☐ **IBM Word Perfect** can only think your spelling, but gives you a lot of options and programs to help you write.
- ☐ **IBM Communications Communications** lets you talk to databases and to other IBM Personal Computers.
- ☐ **As an IBM Personal Computer** you can be the owner for just over \$1200. A microcomputer helps without prior programming skills. The IBM PC and the disk operating system that allows you to use your computer to run software programs makes you distinct.

What if you teach school?

- ☐ **IBM KeyPac** is the easiest, cheapest way to help teach children about computers. It's colorful, easy to use.
- ☐ **IBM BASIC** helps you to do just what you need to know in the BASIC language.
- ☐ **IBM Prices** have a design to let you create your own database as well as existing models.
- ☐ **IBM Word Perfect** helps ensure that your documents and the data in your tables are as perfect as possible.
- ☐ **As an IBM Personal Computer** you can be the owner for just over \$1200. A microcomputer helps without prior programming skills. The IBM PC and the disk operating system that allows you to use your computer to run software programs makes you distinct.

What if you just like programming?

- ☐ **IBM Professional Editor** lets you create and edit documents, tables, statistics and graphs.
- ☐ **IBM BASIC Programming Development System** lets you create your own programs.
- ☐ **IBM Personal Editor** lets you create and edit documents, tables, statistics and graphs.
- ☐ **IBM Word Perfect** helps ensure that your documents and the data in your tables are as perfect as possible.
- ☐ **As an IBM Personal Computer** you can be the owner for just over \$1200. A microcomputer helps without prior programming skills. The IBM PC and the disk operating system that allows you to use your computer to run software programs makes you distinct.

Or what if your family wants to get started?

- ☐ **IBM DoubleDisk** is a game that teaches children how to create the mechanics of endgame.
- ☐ **IBM Strategy Games** challenge every member of the family. Four different games are included.
- ☐ **IBM Double Disk** helps you keep track of all your money and assets.
- ☐ **IBM Word Perfect** is a good way to monitor the progress of your family's learning.
- ☐ **As an IBM Personal Computer** you can be the owner for just over \$1200. A microcomputer helps without prior programming skills. The IBM PC and the disk operating system that allows you to use your computer to run software programs makes you distinct.

PEOPLE

Last week the music industry's Grammy Awards turned out to be more like just another record-breaking night. For Michael Jackson, Canadian artists picked up three awards. Anna Mayday as best female country vocalist, Rob McConnell and the Boss Brass for the best big-band jazz album, *All in Good Time*, and classical pianist Glenn Gould, posthumously, as best instrumental soloist. Jackson's unprecedented eight Grammys, resting down on him in 4/4 time, inevitably stole the show. But there was plenty of accompaniment, and the main thrust of it was sexual role reversal.

Culture Club's Boy George roamed in via satellite from London at his glamorous best in a black dress, and the male cast of the Broadway hit *La Cage aux Femmes* performed in drag. But the crowd-pleaser that mattered even more: John O'Quinn was the Eurythmics' *Amore Luce* in an Elvis Presley-style compendium mix, complete with sideburns. The bespectacled Jackson, notably androgynous after recent operations to widen his eyes, heighten his cheekbones and trim his nose, looked lazier by comparison as he collected his gold gramophone, including best male pop vocalist, best album (*Thriller*) and best record (*Beat It*).

If the music industry is at a loss for new cool to bestow on Jackson, the 25-year-old phenomenon has run out of innovative responses ("I am deeply moved," "I love all the girls in the balcony"). Although he has been attacked for name-dropping ("I want to thank my parents Katherine and Aron," Paul McCartney, Brooks Shields), "I'm the age of five he has had five friends outside the industry—two by his own count. He spends much of his free time with Lorde, his father, and Marlene, an eight-foot-long hair maintenance. And Jackson, never free from armoring his face, has to be careful in public. "Being watched hurts," he once said.

Still, Jackson's astounding business success somewhat offsets what he lacks in personal life. He will earn about \$60 million this year. His 40-per-cent royalty rate for *Thriller* is the highest in the industry. He has formed his own company and is negotiating a million-dollar-plus deal with Doubleday for a book about his life. *Thriller* will sell. And a new album by Jackson and his five brothers, *Victory*, will be released when—or if—*Thriller* sales begin to decline.

Part of this year's income will be the proceeds from the Jackson brothers' *Shogun*, 12-week, 40-show tour this summer, which Michael calls the group's "last curtain." The tour will



Jackson: "Deeply moved" at the Grammys

give the other Jackson brothers one more taste of success before they separate professionally. Plans of trouble have been laid. One reason for family dissent is disesteeming father Joe's insistence on hiring boxing impresario Don King as tour manager. Jackson doubts King's ability to look after the group's best interests and is full of security risks—a real danger is what will likely become one of the most successful touring music history. King was mostly responsible for the \$10-million-plus revenue advertising deal with Pepsi Cola Inc., which meant taking down an even more lucrative

offer later from Quaker Oats Co.

In addition to the much-publicized commercial, first aired during the Grammys, Pepsi plans to launch a complementary campaign in Canada. It will star Bunch Trade's *Carole Pope*, Canada's premier queen of ranch, who was "best mom" as partner *Kevin Wynn* of *Wynne's World* last summer. If the commercial isn't Pope's career as effectively as they did Jackson's, she will be a perfect candidate for next year's awards.

Appropriately turned out in her pink-colored Japanese kimono, Princess Anne headed the guest list for the gala London premiere of director-choreographer Brian Macdonald's version of *The Mikado* last week. This production of the Gilbert and Sullivan opera was its international debut performance for the Stratford Festival Company. The opening at Toronto's multi-theatrical (MCCO) to *Mikado*'s immediately restored Old Vic theatre launched a six-week run, parts of which the National Film Board is filming for an hour-long documentary. Although Stratford's executive director, Gary Blum, admitted that taking G. & S. to London was "bringing coils to Newcastle," reviews were, on the whole, favorable. The players were presented to Princess Anne after the show, before going in a fleet of Jaguar saloons to a reception at the Savoy. The Princess was particularly interested in designer Susan Branson's costumes and in veteran English-born actor Eric Roberts, who played the enigmatic, Ko-Ko Road Branson. "We all felt the princess was splendid. It had given the prince a chance to be a prince."

Princess Anne and members of Stratford company "bringing coils to Newcastle"



The primary Hart attack

By Michael Posner

It seemed clear that the only thing standing between former vice-president Walter (Fritz) Mondale and the Democratic nomination for president was the calendar. Until last week. With more money, more endorsements and more thorough organization than any other candidate, Mondale had begun what looked like a coronation march in the party's July nominating convention. Then the voters of New Hampshire radically altered the entire outlook for the rest of the campaign. They backed Colorado Senator Gary Hart, until then a dark horse at best, a stunning landslide in the nation's first primary—41 per cent to Mondale's 29 per cent.

New Hampshire's voters scrambled the previously tidy campaign calculus. Within 48 hours three candidates—Senators Robert Hoffings (D-C) and Alan Cranston (Calif.), along with former Florida governor Reubin Askew—withdrew from the race. They finished at the bottom of the pack and, as Cranston put it, they knew "what to do and how to do it." Three others, former senator George McGovern, former John Glenn (Ohio) and Rep. Jesse Jackson, began an intensive drive to improve their performances on Super Tuesday—the March 15 extravaganza of 10 primaries and delegate selection caucuses McGovern is counting on a strong performance in Massachusetts, while Glenn and particularly Jackson rest their hopes on impressive showings in the South.

New Hampshire shattered the sense that Mondale's nomination was inevitable. Before Feb. 26 he had been all but anointed. After the primary the nomination was suddenly up for grabs. Democrats were left with a script that, at least temporarily, has no ending. "It is now clear that there is a different race,"



Hart with wife, Luanne; Mondale shattering the aura of inevitability

Late polls in New Hampshire showed Hart quickly closing the gap between himself and Mondale. These gave him added momentum—an indisputable ingredient in the political process. As well, New Hampshire has always been related to front-runners. In 1964, when Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller were battling for the Republican nomination, the Granite State's voters obstinately chose Henry Cabot Lodge—then ambassador to Vietnam—as a write-in candidate. In 1968 they helped persuade President Lyndon Johnson not to stand for reelection, giving then Senator Eugene McCarthy 42 per cent of the vote. In 1972 New Hampshire's rocky steams also wrecked the hopes of Senator Edmund Muskie. McGovern best him and went on to win the nomination. And in 1976 an unknown Jimmy Carter won the primary, launching his victorious quest for the presidency. Indeed, none since 1960 as president has been elected without first winning in New Hampshire—an unfortunate omen for Mondale.

But precedent is clearly not Mondale's only reason for concern. Exit-poll soundings suggest that his candidacy may be as secure as the Senate of those

derive from the political makeup of New Hampshire itself. Sporadically associated, it has more registered independents than registered Democrats. It is also the sort of state where voters have customarily put a premium on door-to-door, face-to-face campaigning. As a result of that, neither Mondale, endorsed by the

AFUCO race his ability to buy television time were of much help. Indeed,

half the nation members who voted chose Hart. Others who might have selected Mondale were annoyed that he spent most of the 48 hours before the vote campaigning in Massachusetts.

Last week's primary exposed other areas of vulnerability in Mondale as well. As Carter's former vice-president, he still carries the baggage, in many voters' minds, of that administration's failures. At the same time, Mondale's many endorsements—from labor, teachers and other special interest groups—have left his open to the charge that he is no longer his own man. At one pre-primary debate Hart asked Mondale to cite one instance in which his platform differed from organized labor's. Mondale could not do it. In a state that values independence—New Hampshire's motto is "Live Free or Die"—Big

day before the vote. Unless the Mondale juggernaut was stopped, said Hoffings, "New Hampshire will be the first primary, the last primary and the election all in one day."

Hart, too, played on that theme. His TV ads urged voters to reject "politicians who promise everything." His speeches stressed Mondale's links with the unimpeachable past and Hart's own with the challenging future. Echoing former president John F. Kennedy—and, with his teleopic image, even resembling J.F.K.—Hart said, "It is time to get the country on the move again." Hart—at 45, eight years younger than Mondale—pitched his appeal at voters under the age of 45 and at women, supporting his argument heavily in both categories. Mondale's one source of strength proved to be voters over 50,

the same time, five per cent of Republicans voted for Hart, suggesting that he and his policies may have some appeal to the moderate wing of the GOP.

Hart's victory will quickly attract assets that his campaign desperately needs: money and volunteers. He is already \$300,000 in debt, and his organization in many states is skeletal. But success will also invite greater scrutiny into the candidate himself—and the views he represents. Politically, Gary Hart is a determined liberal. An ardent champion of union control and the nuclear freeze, he has promoted tighter controls on the manufacture of plutonium as a way to prevent the spread of nuclear capability. In Central America he has recommended that Washington remove military advisers from Honduras and cut aid to El Salvador until its



Glenn campaigning in New Hampshire, beset by a continuing failure to find a conservative Democratic constituency

Lebanon's embrace was a major liability for the front-runner.

Another Mondale handicap is his personality. New Hampshire critics nicknamed him Walter Mootman, and his own campaign officials, who spent 18 months in the state, conceded that Mondale's support was never much higher than 40 per cent. Much of that, it now seems, was "soft"—capable of being won away. Finally, and most damaging of all, was the perception—carefully fostered by his opponents—that Mondale cannot beat President Ronald Reagan. "It's right there in front of us, ladies and gentlemen," Hoffings told a gathering on

and many of them were kept away from the polls by a savage blizzard that roared through the northern state.

The collapse of the lemming candidates was another major factor in Hart's favor. That was also the case with Jackson's beloved admiral that he had privately referred to as "Jimmy" and to New York City as "Jimmy Stewart," as well as Glenn's continuing failure to find a conservative Democratic constituency. There are such voters in New Hampshire, but they tend to vote Republicans. In fact, five per cent of Democrats cast ballots for Reagan, with the result that the President finished ahead of Hoffings, Askew and Cranston. At

government has dismantled its right-wing death squads. In the Middle East Hart was an early advocate of the withdrawal of U.S. Marines from Lebanon. And during the last Democratic candidates' debate, the week before New Hampshire, Hart said he would defend U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf with air and sea power, but not ground forces.

A senator since 1974, Hart has made his greatest mark as a critic of military policy. He has moved to cut the Pentagon's budget by \$100 billion over the next five years and has long advocated a wholesale shift in defense tactics—away from large, expensive weapons systems to smaller, more accurate and





**Today the average family farm
is a half million dollar
investment.**

That makes it big business.

Farming in Canada has changed dramatically. The scale of family farming today was underscored in a recent survey conducted by the Farm Credit Corporation. Among those sampled, the survey showed an average farm asset value of more than half a million dollars, and a \$800,000 investment for each farm worker.

In anybody's book that's big business. But recently, an additional factor has added to the complexity of modern farm management. Rising costs and falling incomes have placed a premium on efficient financial management.

At the Commerce, we've been particularly active in providing financial assistance to farmers. Commerce Farm Loans, for example, have increased from roughly \$350 million in 1971 to more than \$2 billion.

But the Commerce commitment goes beyond lending money. It includes services such as farm credit life insurance of up to \$500,000 and the development of a computerized farm financial planning and management program. The Commerce also employs full-time agricultural specialists at major regional offices and key branch locations.

Canadian farmers and the Commerce have enjoyed a close and mutually productive relationship for many years. As farming continues to change, that relationship will remain something our farm customers can count on.

**In a changing world, you
can count on the Commerce.**



**CANADIAN IMPERIAL
BANK OF COMMERCE**

cheaper armaments. On domestic issues, Hart has been awarded membership in the neoliberal camp—Democrats who view industrial policy as a strategy for resurrecting American competitiveness in the world economy. He rejects the label but tends to support the basic message. He has encouraged negotiations between labor, management and government to find solutions to obsolete or ailing industries and, unlike Mondale, he is opposed to protectionist legislation that would impose maximum-wages quotas on all cars sold in the United States.

Much less is known about Hart's personal life. Partly by design, Hart rarely discusses it. "Anyone a candidate talks about himself, I get turned off," he said earlier this year. "I don't have to sell myself. I have to sell the need to change generations of leadership." Hart is a native of Ottawa, Kan. His family name was Hartmann, but he changed it before entering politics. An evangelical Protestant, he studied for the ministry at a Nazarene college in Oklahoma and later at Yale's Divinity School. But Kennedy's 1960 election campaign exposed Hart to the potential of public service through political activity. Said Hart: "Most people my age weren't interested in politics, because that's what guys who smoked cigars did. Kennedy inspired politics. Now public service was an honorable thing."

He turned from religion to law, earned a degree from Yale Law School, worked for the justice and interior departments in Washington, practiced privately in Denver and, in 1972, managed McGovern's doomed presidential campaign against former president Richard Nixon. Two years later, at 37, he won his Colorado Senate seat despite his inexperience. He took a new approach to American liberalism.

The central issue now is whether Hart can parlay the verdict in New Hampshire into additional victories. A poor showing on Super Tuesday would make his momentum sharply off the other hand, another clear-cut win or two might be enough to wound Mondale's candidacy fatally. Mondale's campaign was based on the premise that he would wrap up the nomination early. That had, the former vice-president spent 75 per cent of his presidential funds even before the first primary ballots were cast. If the race tightens, Mondale's cash advantage will erode quickly. Now, as he conceded last week, he will have to change tactics, speeches and strategy and rely on his grassroots energy. Despite New Hampshire, he remains the front-runner. But voters no longer see him as unbeatable, and as highly charged political campaigns their perceptions are ultimately what matter most. □

LEBANON

Gemayel's Syrian surrender

Just 56 hours before he left for Damascus, Lebanon's embattled president, Amal Gemayel, fully expected to secure a cool reception. For months Gemayel had rejected Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's offers of help in the search for a solution to the nine-year Lebanese conflict. But last week, abandoned by his Western sup-

porters, 15 million Moslems and one million Christians. As well, Gemayel was likely to announce that he will arrange for a special inquiry into his government's handling of recent Lebanese Army attacks on Moslem areas.

Gemayel's reversal reflected the weakness of his position following last month's withdrawal of U.S. marines from Beirut and a series of stalling defeats at the hands of the Moslem militia. Not only that, but after the United States, Britain and Italy had withdrawn their peace-keeping forces, France announced that it will pull out its 1,250-man force.

And Druze leader Walid Jumblatt declared that the Lebanese president should stand trial. "He is to be judged for his crimes against the Lebanese people," said Jumblatt, citing the destruction of Druze and Shi'ite Moslem property by the army in recent fighting. Gemayel's proposal for the inquiry into the government's behavior during the army attacks did not initially modify the opposition. However, after conferring with Assad in Damascus, Jumblatt modified his stand.

"We don't want Gemayel's head," he declared. "We want [the policy to be] because it has been responsible for the death of so many."

The emphasis over the Damascus pilgrimage did not ease the continuing violence in Beirut. The presidential palace and the U.S. ambassador's residence came under heavy shelling last week.

As a result, steps of the U.S. Sixth Fleet opened fire on Moslem positions. Indeed, even if Gemayel does manage to implement his proposals, he will still face severe opposition. Beirut warned that it will revoke its commitment to pull out of northern Lebanon because of the cancellation of the May 17 accord. Not only that, but Fuad Frem, commander of the independent Christian Phalangist militia, opposed abrogation of the treaty because, he said, "This would mean submission to Syrian control." Still, with Beirut newspapers carrying pictures of Gemayel embracing Assad, it was clear that the Syrian president already has a firm grip on Lebanon's destiny. —BARRY M. FRISCH in Beirut



Assad (left), Gemayel victory for a shingone

porters and crushed by military defeats in Beirut, Gemayel finally acknowledged the power of Syrian leader's influence. Then Assad greeted Gemayel with a royal welcome, complete with a 20-gun salute and a contingent of the presidential guard of honor.

Assad had every reason to be gracious. Gemayel's two-day trip represented a major political victory for the Syrian leader and a final defeat for Washington's two-year effort to control the Lebanese peace process. At the same time, Assad's Druze and Shi'ite Moslem allies in Lebanon hailed the event as a triumph for the opposition. For his part, Gemayel returned to Lebanon to embrace Christian and other leading figures before returning to the nation the concessions he had made to Assad. Assad's help in ending Lebanon's most devout civil strife first among them. Gemayel was also expected to set a date for reviving talks on reconciling the competing claims to power of Lebanon's



"Habitant Driving The Sleigh" by Krighoff

We are proud to offer Maclean's readers the two best series in the contemporary series created by Canadian Collector Plates. This limited edition series of four chess pieces is a superb panoramic showcase of distinguished Canadian landscape painting from a broad spectrum of periods and regions. The new additions are larger, more colorful, and present outstanding scenes by two of our greatest 19th Century masters, both paintings are from the art collection of The Public Archives of Canada.

"Majestic Rockies" (1887)

by Lucius R. O'Brien

The romance of the earlier days of the transcontinental railway and the noble splendor of the mountains are captured by one of Canada's foremost painters, Ontario-born L. R. O'Brien. He was the founder and first president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. This breathtaking study of the Rockies near Banff, with one of the first steam trains passing through the valley, is magnificently reproduced on fine loose sheets.

ORDER YOURS TODAY! Write to: Maclean's Collector Plates, 1111 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7. Tel: (416) 593-2655. 800-268-9055. 596-1535.

The Maclean's Collection presents

"Discover Canada"

Limited edition Canadian art treasures from East and West by Canadian Collector Plates



"Majestic Rockies" by O'Brien

A possession to cherish, a gift to delight

Both scenic classics are being produced in an edition strictly limited to 10,000, never to be repeated. Each magnificently large 27cm (10 1/2") piece, framed in 24K gold, is individually numbered. It will serve as a deluxe case with an identically numbered Certificate of Authenticity. Order today by mail or phone with the protection of our 30 DAY FREE EXAMINATION.

Place and mail today to: The Maclean's Collection, 1111 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7

Sign and send me _____ copies of the Collector Plates. If not needed for any reason, I may return the photos (and an certificate of authenticity) within 15 days for a full, prompt refund or replacement. The price per piece is \$125 plus \$10.00 for shipping and handling. Ontario residents add \$9.00. Quebec residents add \$11.00. Provincial Sales Tax per plate.

<input type="checkbox"/> "Majestic Rockies"	<input type="checkbox"/> "Habitant Driving The Sleigh"
<input type="checkbox"/> Cheque or Money Order enclosed for full amount of \$_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Payable to "The Maclean's Collection"
<input type="checkbox"/> Visa <input type="checkbox"/> MasterCard <input type="checkbox"/> Discover	<input type="checkbox"/> Charge me <input type="checkbox"/> Credit Card
Name _____	
Address _____	
City _____ State _____ Zip _____	
Phone _____	

Signature _____
Date _____
Printed Name _____
Allow 3 weeks for delivery. Limited time offer.



The president stumbling his way, gasping for breath, losing his place in the text

THE SOVIET UNION

Chernenko's mystery illness

The occasion was the first major policy speech by 78-year-old Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko. And Western diplomats were anxiously awaiting his views on such key issues as Moscow's future relations with Washington. Then, the focus of their attention switched abruptly as Chernenko stumbled his way through the address, frequently trailing off his sentences as he gasped for air. At one point, he lost his place in the text and fumbled in silence for more than 30 seconds before he organized the remainder of the speech. Soviet television cameras, capturing the event live from the cavernous Kremlin Hall of Congresses, panned away in a manner reminiscent of the technique used to conceal the deteriorating state of health of former president Leonid Brezhnev in the months before he died in November, 1982. Said one Western diplomat, noting the parallel: "It's just like the old days."

Chernenko's obvious discomfort gave added force to British Social Democratic Party Leader Dr. David Owen's diagnosis of the leader's condition last month. Owen, who met Chernenko after former president Yuri Andropov's funeral, said he was suffering from emphysema, an irreversible lung ailment that causes heart failure in elderly sufferers. Other Westerners at the funeral said that Chernenko, who survived a serious bout of pneumonia last year,

wheezed so loudly in his biology that his words were occasionally inaudible. Later, at Andropov's funeral in the Kremlin walk, Chernenko appeared to have difficulty sustaining his stride.

Last week's appearance was equally disturbing. Chernenko managed to walk slowly, but unaided, from the podium. But as he disappeared through a side door, out of sight of his 5,000-strong audience, an aide took him gently by the arm and helped him up a flight of stairs. Said one Western diplomat in Moscow: "Here we have a man who is unsteady, faltering and at times confused. He gave the impression of a napping leader and a sick one at that."

As in the case of Brezhnev and Andropov, there are no official predictions about the future course of Chernenko's illness. But Western medical experts are certain that the strain of high office will hasten its progress. One factor adding to his stress is Chernenko's need to strengthen his position in a Politburo that was reluctant to choose him to succeed Andropov. Many Western diplomats believe that a power struggle between Chernenko and his 58-year-old deputy, Mikhail Gorbachev, is inevitable. Gorbachev is widely regarded as having been Andropov's favorite for the succession. Chernenko's performance in the Hall of Congresses indicated that he will have little staying power in such a contest.

—DAVID NORTH in Toronto, with correspondents' reports

BRITAIN

A fallen leader rejoins the ranks

When Britain's left-wing ideologist Tony Benn lost his Bristol seat in last June's general election, the majority of his Opposition Labour Party colleagues breathed a sigh of relief. For a decade Benn's extreme views had proved an embarrassment to the party leadership. Many Labour moderates even blamed him for the scale of the party's 188-seat rout by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives. But last week Labour's frays were rebuked as Benn, 58, swept back with a massive 6,000-vote by-election majority in the party's Midland stronghold of Chesterfield.

Labour Leader Neil Kinnock welcomed Benn's return as the grounds that Benn "has made it clear that he is very much a part of the mood of unity in the party." But in his victory speech Benn also delivered a defence of his left-wing views that set off alarm bells in Labour committee rooms throughout the country. Said Benn: "The voters' verdict shows that the passionate advocacy of socialism is capable of winning the support of the people."

That message ran directly counter to the moderate views with which Kinnock has wooed voters ever since he succeeded Michael Foot last October. By propelling Labour toward the centre—softening its opposition to European Economic Community membership and blurring its divisions on nuclear arms—Kinnock has improved the party's public profile. Current polls give Labour 33.5 per cent support, compared to 27.6 per cent last June, although it still trails Thatcher's Tories by 8.5 per cent. Kinnock himself enjoys a 40-per-cent personal popularity rating, compared to 47 per cent for Thatcher.

Now many observers believe that recovery may be in jeopardy unless Benn has undergone a change of heart. One clear indicator will be the tactics of Labour's 46 or 50 left-wing MPs now that Benn has returned. As before, he will come at the party convention in September. Two years ago Benn's supporters pushed through late changes forcing all Labour MPs to then renounce by riding committees for each election. The move won a big but unstable left-wing activists to seat moderate MPs. Kinnock wants to remove that threat. But in the wake of Benn's triumph, few party stalwarts were prepared to bet that Kinnock would succeed without a damaging challenge from his rejuvenated left wing.

—JAN MATHIAS in London

News coverage
you can count on!



Just right size — approx. 5" x 2"

+ Full memory functions

Today's News at Half-Price* - Tomorrow's Technology FREE!

Welcome to the Information Age! News and new technologies merge into a news-gathering system that lets you know your world — instantly!

The heart of that system is Maclean's, Canada's Weekly News magazine. Electronic immediacy and in-depth analysis give you the urgency, importance and excitement of major news events. From Canada and from around the world, Maclean's brings you today's news — all the news — week after week!

Now Maclean's gives you a sample of tomorrow's technology — this free

light-energized solar calculator. Using state-of-the-art solar sensors, it turns any light into energy. It never needs batteries!

It's just the right size — lightweight and compact enough for office, home and school — on a desk, counter or table-top. Your calculator has generous full-size keys for fast, easy operation,

and a full one-year warranty to assure trouble-free use.

Get your solar calculator while this offer lasts — subscribe to Maclean's at Half-Price today!

Maclean's has 4092 Super-A, Milwaukee Co. MCM-5A2
FREE SOLAR CALCULATOR
with Maclean's at Half-Price*

☐ A Full Size at Half Price
Save me 1/2 \$ off 12 mos.
Send Calculator when I pay

☐ Priority Service!
I prefer 1/2 \$ off 6 mos.
Send Calculator when I pay

First Name _____ Last Name _____
Address _____ Apt. _____
City _____ Prov. _____ Postal Code _____

Lightweight solar calculator
Maclean's

Imasco claims a U.S. prize

By James Fleming

The jewel dinner at Montreal's exclusive Mount Royal Club was an auspicious beginning for a newly formed corporate marriage. Under the austerous gaze of the 86-year-old club's past chairman, whose portrait lined the walls of the new Chairman's Room, senior executives of the Montreal-based conglomerate Imasco Ltd. slipped Pouilly-Fuissé and truffled foies gras last week with Sheldene Partle, president of Peoples Drug Stores of Alexandria, Va. The reason for the celebratory luncheon had just made a \$400-million deal to buy Peoples, an aggressive 500-store U.S. drug retailing chain. And both sides—including the takeover target—clearly found the transaction agreeable. Said Imasco Chairman Paul Partl: "Partle was it a synergistic move."

Imasco's takeover of Peoples ended months of suspense in the investment community over where the corporate giant might strike next in its efforts to diversify an empire that achieved a robust \$2.2 billion in sales in the first nine months of its fiscal 1988 year alone. In Canada the company is already battling against inertia in its growth. Imasco's major money maker, Imperial Tobacco Ltd., produces half of all the cigarettes sold in Canada (many of them by its United Cigar Stores chain), while its 640 Shoppers Drug Mart stores have accounted 28 per cent of the domestic drug retailing market. But the Foreign Investment Review Agency has hampered Imasco's expansion plans in Canada in the past because it is 40-per-cent owned by Irish-based B.A.T. Industries. But last week's takeover confirmed that Imasco views the health-care drug retailing industry in the United States as a prime area for expansion.

Indeed, Imasco's latest major acquisition attempt in Canada failed last June, when it withdrew a \$1.3-billion bid for Canadian Tire Ltd., Canada's retailing megastore and major shareholders

opposed the offer. Still smarting from that setback, Imasco concentrated on making a U.S. acquisition.

According to Partl, Imasco studied about 30 U.S. companies as possible takeover targets. But in January it narrowed the list to Peoples, whose stores in the eastern and midwestern states made a \$10.7-million profit last year. Imasco immediately instructed its U.S.

leased stores at the same price. To gain 100-per-cent control of Peoples, Imasco must buy a total of more than 7.1 million common shares and 180 million shares of debentures which remain in minority owners' hands. But analysts expect those shareholders to co-operate because the \$34 offer is well above the stock's pre-sever trading price of \$24. However, as week end the stock closed at \$28 in the New York Stock Exchange.

Partle was clearly happy with the terms of the agreement, which will leave him at Peoples' helm, and with the firm's new owner. Said Partle: "We are extremely pleased to join Imasco, a company of exceptional quality." Stock market analysts also generally approved. Said Thomas Lee of Montreal-based Newbit, Thomas, Baggot Inc.: "Imasco paid a good price and is getting a company that does not need additional equity." But David Schalm, an analyst with Geoffrey, Leclerc Inc. of Montreal, expressed frustration with Imasco's policies. Imasco has bought and sold more than a dozen holdings in the past decade, and he complained that the firm is just "flipping companies." Said Schalm: "Their acquisition-divestiture policy is a revolving door."



Partl is cash-rich empire looking for takeover targets

banker, Morgan Stanley of New York, to make overtures to Peoples. Then, on Feb. 26, with the groundwork laid, Partl and Shoppers Chairman Murray Koffler made their offer personally to Partle. Just three days later Peoples' board of directors approved the offer. A key factor in the agreement, says Partl, was the willingness of Peoples' major shareholders, 20-year-old Partle and 68-year-old company director Adrian Lunel, to sell their holdings, which included about 30 per cent of the firm's equity.

Under the terms of the takeover—legally termed a merger—Imasco has agreed to pay \$34 (U.S.) for each more than 2 million Peoples shares. As well, Peoples' board granted Imasco an option to buy a further 1.5 million new-

Shares. Partle believes that Imasco's latest foray into the United States makes good sense because of the concentration on growth in Canada. As a result, says Partl, Imasco has targeted the U.S. health-care drug retailing and fast-food industries—it already owns 2,000 Bladen's fast-food restaurants—as logical areas for expansion. Indeed, Imasco's takeover of Peoples, which will make the Montreal firm a dominant force in North America's drug retailing market, has earned only what is an appetite for more acquisitions. Said Imasco Vice-President of Public Relations Victor Drury: "I doubt that this is the last time you will hear that Imasco is involved in a major transaction."

By Anthony Wilson-Smith in Montreal.

French labor in revolt

They missed in Paris's Place de la Concorde, their angry faces partly hidden under hard hats and lanterns. But the threatening spectre of 10,000 miners who marched on the French capital last week failed to budge France's politicians one bow. As the miners brandished placards demanding "no to liquidation" and "bring back coal," the directors of the Charbonnages de France confirmed their determination to eliminate an estimated 20,000 job by 1993 in an effort to save the country's coal industry.

But for the nervous government of President François Mitterrand, the coal miners' fury was a foretaste of the labor anger that may come in the face of his biggest economic gamble to date: a newly unveiled \$400-million plan to lay a modernization of the country's largest industries. The project is not only the most ambitious strengthening ever undertaken in Europe but it also may be the riskiest. Mitterrand's Socialists, who swept into office nearly three years ago on a promise of breaking unemployment, now find themselves preening over a blueprint that will cost at least 80,000 heavy-industry jobs alone by the end of the decade. Worse, it promises to make a sticky part of strikes as a protest against the prospective jettison of a time when French industry has just regained a slim export surplus.

The French cabinet approved the restructuring plan last month, but only a portion of it has been made public to date. Its main targets are the outmoded and inefficient steel, coal, shipbuilding and automobile industries. As well, the scheme proposes to streamline the country's growing telecommunications business in a bid for labor's consent, the plan includes a multi-billion-dollar package of measures that the government hopes will take the sting out of job losses. They include pensions for workers who take early retirement at age 55, compensation for migrant workers who volunteer to return home and a two-year training leave for an estimated 15,000 workers. Under the plan they would get 90 per cent of their salary while learning new trades. As well, the government has slung an 14 cent income tax concession on top, in the country's hardest-hit region, for special aid and job creation incentives.

Still, even the pro-Socialist miners' union charges that the plan discriminates against laid-off workers who do not come from either a restructured sector or a nonunion mine. Said union chief Edmond Maitre: "This means there

One chance for tomorrow—you.

In the Third World, hope is a rarity, and help rarer still. You can make the difference by helping a child through Foster Parent Plan. For \$23 a month, you can help a child today, a family for tomorrow, and a community for years to come. Please—complete the coupon below—for today, tomorrow and a better world.



CALL TOLL FREE ANYTIME 1-(800)-268-7174
 If possible, please fax to: 1000 Lakeshore Blvd. East, Suite 100, Toronto, Ontario M2M 1P4

PLAN FOSTER PARENT'S PLAN OF CANADA
 (An international human development project)

19507 CLARAVILLE WEST TORONTO CANADA M9N 1P4

I want to be a Foster Parent who can help a child in need. I am a ☐ male ☐ female, ☐ single ☐ married ☐ divorced ☐ widowed. I am ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61-70 ☐ 71-80 ☐ 81-90 ☐ 91-100 years old. I have ☐ no children ☐ 1 child ☐ 2 children ☐ 3 children ☐ 4 children ☐ 5 children ☐ 6 children ☐ 7 children ☐ 8 children ☐ 9 children ☐ 10 children ☐ 11 children ☐ 12 children ☐ 13 children ☐ 14 children ☐ 15 children ☐ 16 children ☐ 17 children ☐ 18 children ☐ 19 children ☐ 20 children ☐ 21 children ☐ 22 children ☐ 23 children ☐ 24 children ☐ 25 children ☐ 26 children ☐ 27 children ☐ 28 children ☐ 29 children ☐ 30 children ☐ 31 children ☐ 32 children ☐ 33 children ☐ 34 children ☐ 35 children ☐ 36 children ☐ 37 children ☐ 38 children ☐ 39 children ☐ 40 children ☐ 41 children ☐ 42 children ☐ 43 children ☐ 44 children ☐ 45 children ☐ 46 children ☐ 47 children ☐ 48 children ☐ 49 children ☐ 50 children ☐ 51 children ☐ 52 children ☐ 53 children ☐ 54 children ☐ 55 children ☐ 56 children ☐ 57 children ☐ 58 children ☐ 59 children ☐ 60 children ☐ 61 children ☐ 62 children ☐ 63 children ☐ 64 children ☐ 65 children ☐ 66 children ☐ 67 children ☐ 68 children ☐ 69 children ☐ 70 children ☐ 71 children ☐ 72 children ☐ 73 children ☐ 74 children ☐ 75 children ☐ 76 children ☐ 77 children ☐ 78 children ☐ 79 children ☐ 80 children ☐ 81 children ☐ 82 children ☐ 83 children ☐ 84 children ☐ 85 children ☐ 86 children ☐ 87 children ☐ 88 children ☐ 89 children ☐ 90 children ☐ 91 children ☐ 92 children ☐ 93 children ☐ 94 children ☐ 95 children ☐ 96 children ☐ 97 children ☐ 98 children ☐ 99 children ☐ 100 children ☐ 101 children ☐ 102 children ☐ 103 children ☐ 104 children ☐ 105 children ☐ 106 children ☐ 107 children ☐ 108 children ☐ 109 children ☐ 110 children ☐ 111 children ☐ 112 children ☐ 113 children ☐ 114 children ☐ 115 children ☐ 116 children ☐ 117 children ☐ 118 children ☐ 119 children ☐ 120 children ☐ 121 children ☐ 122 children ☐ 123 children ☐ 124 children ☐ 125 children ☐ 126 children ☐ 127 children ☐ 128 children ☐ 129 children ☐ 130 children ☐ 131 children ☐ 132 children ☐ 133 children ☐ 134 children ☐ 135 children ☐ 136 children ☐ 137 children ☐ 138 children ☐ 139 children ☐ 140 children ☐ 141 children ☐ 142 children ☐ 143 children ☐ 144 children ☐ 145 children ☐ 146 children ☐ 147 children ☐ 148 children ☐ 149 children ☐ 150 children ☐ 151 children ☐ 152 children ☐ 153 children ☐ 154 children ☐ 155 children ☐ 156 children ☐ 157 children ☐ 158 children ☐ 159 children ☐ 160 children ☐ 161 children ☐ 162 children ☐ 163 children ☐ 164 children ☐ 165 children ☐ 166 children ☐ 167 children ☐ 168 children ☐ 169 children ☐ 170 children ☐ 171 children ☐ 172 children ☐ 173 children ☐ 174 children ☐ 175 children ☐ 176 children ☐ 177 children ☐ 178 children ☐ 179 children ☐ 180 children ☐ 181 children ☐ 182 children ☐ 183 children ☐ 184 children ☐ 185 children ☐ 186 children ☐ 187 children ☐ 188 children ☐ 189 children ☐ 190 children ☐ 191 children ☐ 192 children ☐ 193 children ☐ 194 children ☐ 195 children ☐ 196 children ☐ 197 children ☐ 198 children ☐ 199 children ☐ 200 children ☐ 201 children ☐ 202 children ☐ 203 children ☐ 204 children ☐ 205 children ☐ 206 children ☐ 207 children ☐ 208 children ☐ 209 children ☐ 210 children ☐ 211 children ☐ 212 children ☐ 213 children ☐ 214 children ☐ 215 children ☐ 216 children ☐ 217 children ☐ 218 children ☐ 219 children ☐ 220 children ☐ 221 children ☐ 222 children ☐ 223 children ☐ 224 children ☐ 225 children ☐ 226 children ☐ 227 children ☐ 228 children ☐ 229 children ☐ 230 children ☐ 231 children ☐ 232 children ☐ 233 children ☐ 234 children ☐ 235 children ☐ 236 children ☐ 237 children ☐ 238 children ☐ 239 children ☐ 240 children ☐ 241 children ☐ 242 children ☐ 243 children ☐ 244 children ☐ 245 children ☐ 246 children ☐ 247 children ☐ 248 children ☐ 249 children ☐ 250 children ☐ 251 children ☐ 252 children ☐ 253 children ☐ 254 children ☐ 255 children ☐ 256 children ☐ 257 children ☐ 258 children ☐ 259 children ☐ 260 children ☐ 261 children ☐ 262 children ☐ 263 children ☐ 264 children ☐ 265 children ☐ 266 children ☐ 267 children ☐ 268 children ☐ 269 children ☐ 270 children ☐ 271 children ☐ 272 children ☐ 273 children ☐ 274 children ☐ 275 children ☐ 276 children ☐ 277 children ☐ 278 children ☐ 279 children ☐ 280 children ☐ 281 children ☐ 282 children ☐ 283 children ☐ 284 children ☐ 285 children ☐ 286 children ☐ 287 children ☐ 288 children ☐ 289 children ☐ 290 children ☐ 291 children ☐ 292 children ☐ 293 children ☐ 294 children ☐ 295 children ☐ 296 children ☐ 297 children ☐ 298 children ☐ 299 children ☐ 300 children ☐ 301 children ☐ 302 children ☐ 303 children ☐ 304 children ☐ 305 children ☐ 306 children ☐ 307 children ☐ 308 children ☐ 309 children ☐ 310 children ☐ 311 children ☐ 312 children ☐ 313 children ☐ 314 children ☐ 315 children ☐ 316 children ☐ 317 children ☐ 318 children ☐ 319 children ☐ 320 children ☐ 321 children ☐ 322 children ☐ 323 children ☐ 324 children ☐ 325 children ☐ 326 children ☐ 327 children ☐ 328 children ☐ 329 children ☐ 330 children ☐ 331 children ☐ 332 children ☐ 333 children ☐ 334 children ☐ 335 children ☐ 336 children ☐ 337 children ☐ 338 children ☐ 339 children ☐ 340 children ☐ 341 children ☐ 342 children ☐ 343 children ☐ 344 children ☐ 345 children ☐ 346 children ☐ 347 children ☐ 348 children ☐ 349 children ☐ 350 children ☐ 351 children ☐ 352 children ☐ 353 children ☐ 354 children ☐ 355 children ☐ 356 children ☐ 357 children ☐ 358 children ☐ 359 children ☐ 360 children ☐ 361 children ☐ 362 children ☐ 363 children ☐ 364 children ☐ 365 children ☐ 366 children ☐ 367 children ☐ 368 children ☐ 369 children ☐ 370 children ☐ 371 children ☐ 372 children ☐ 373 children ☐ 374 children ☐ 375 children ☐ 376 children ☐ 377 children ☐ 378 children ☐ 379 children ☐ 380 children ☐ 381 children ☐ 382 children ☐ 383 children ☐ 384 children ☐ 385 children ☐ 386 children ☐ 387 children ☐ 388 children ☐ 389 children ☐ 390 children ☐ 391 children ☐ 392 children ☐ 393 children ☐ 394 children ☐ 395 children ☐ 396 children ☐ 397 children ☐ 398 children ☐ 399 children ☐ 400 children ☐ 401 children ☐ 402 children ☐ 403 children ☐ 404 children ☐ 405 children ☐ 406 children ☐ 407 children ☐ 408 children ☐ 409 children ☐ 410 children ☐ 411 children ☐ 412 children ☐ 413 children ☐ 414 children ☐ 415 children ☐ 416 children ☐ 417 children ☐ 418 children ☐ 419 children ☐ 420 children ☐ 421 children ☐ 422 children ☐ 423 children ☐ 424 children ☐ 425 children ☐ 426 children ☐ 427 children ☐ 428 children ☐ 429 children ☐ 430 children ☐ 431 children ☐ 432 children ☐ 433 children ☐ 434 children ☐ 435 children ☐ 436 children ☐ 437 children ☐ 438 children ☐ 439 children ☐ 440 children ☐ 441 children ☐ 442 children ☐ 443 children ☐ 444 children ☐ 445 children ☐ 446 children ☐ 447 children ☐ 448 children ☐ 449 children ☐ 450 children ☐ 451 children ☐ 452 children ☐ 453 children ☐ 454 children ☐ 455 children ☐ 456 children ☐ 457 children ☐ 458 children ☐ 459 children ☐ 460 children ☐ 461 children ☐ 462 children ☐ 463 children ☐ 464 children ☐ 465 children ☐ 466 children ☐ 467 children ☐ 468 children ☐ 469 children ☐ 470 children ☐ 471 children ☐ 472 children ☐ 473 children ☐ 474 children ☐ 475 children ☐ 476 children ☐ 477 children ☐ 478 children ☐ 479 children ☐ 480 children ☐ 481 children ☐ 482 children ☐ 483 children ☐ 484 children ☐ 485 children ☐ 486 children ☐ 487 children ☐ 488 children ☐ 489 children ☐ 490 children ☐ 491 children ☐ 492 children ☐ 493 children ☐ 494 children ☐ 495 children ☐ 496 children ☐ 497 children ☐ 498 children ☐ 499 children ☐ 500 children ☐ 501 children ☐ 502 children ☐ 503 children ☐ 504 children ☐ 505 children ☐ 506 children ☐ 507 children ☐ 508 children ☐ 509 children ☐ 510 children ☐ 511 children ☐ 512 children ☐ 513 children ☐ 514 children ☐ 515 children ☐ 516 children ☐ 517 children ☐ 518 children ☐ 519 children ☐ 520 children ☐ 521 children ☐ 522 children ☐ 523 children ☐ 524 children ☐ 525 children ☐ 526 children ☐ 527 children ☐ 528 children ☐ 529 children ☐ 530 children ☐ 531 children ☐ 532 children ☐ 533 children ☐ 534 children ☐ 535 children ☐ 536 children ☐ 537 children ☐ 538 children ☐ 539 children ☐ 540 children ☐ 541 children ☐ 542 children ☐ 543 children ☐ 544 children ☐ 545 children ☐ 546 children ☐ 547 children ☐ 548 children ☐ 549 children ☐ 550 children ☐ 551 children ☐ 552 children ☐ 553 children ☐ 554 children ☐ 555 children ☐ 556 children ☐ 557 children ☐ 558 children ☐ 559 children ☐ 560 children ☐ 561 children ☐ 562 children ☐ 563 children ☐ 564 children ☐ 565 children ☐ 566 children ☐ 567 children ☐ 568 children ☐ 569 children ☐ 570 children ☐ 571 children ☐ 572 children ☐ 573 children ☐ 574 children ☐ 575 children ☐ 576 children ☐ 577 children ☐ 578 children ☐ 579 children ☐ 580 children ☐ 581 children ☐ 582 children ☐ 583 children ☐ 584 children ☐ 585 children ☐ 586 children ☐ 587 children ☐ 588 children ☐ 589 children ☐ 590 children ☐ 591 children ☐ 592 children ☐ 593 children ☐ 594 children ☐ 595 children ☐ 596 children ☐ 597 children ☐ 598 children ☐ 599 children ☐ 600 children ☐ 601 children ☐ 602 children ☐ 603 children ☐ 604 children ☐ 605 children ☐ 606 children ☐ 607 children ☐ 608 children ☐ 609 children ☐ 610 children ☐ 611 children ☐ 612 children ☐ 613 children ☐ 614 children ☐ 615 children ☐ 616 children ☐ 617 children ☐ 618 children ☐ 619 children ☐ 620 children ☐ 621 children ☐ 622 children ☐ 623 children ☐ 624 children ☐ 625 children ☐ 626 children ☐ 627 children ☐ 628 children ☐ 629 children ☐ 630 children ☐ 631 children ☐ 632 children ☐ 633 children ☐ 634 children ☐ 635 children ☐ 636 children ☐ 637 children ☐ 638 children ☐ 639 children ☐ 640 children ☐ 641 children ☐ 642 children ☐ 643 children ☐ 644 children ☐ 645 children ☐ 646 children ☐ 647 children ☐ 648 children ☐ 649 children ☐ 650 children ☐ 651 children ☐ 652 children ☐ 653 children ☐ 654 children ☐ 655 children ☐ 656 children ☐ 657 children ☐ 658 children ☐ 659 children ☐ 660 children ☐ 661 children ☐ 662 children ☐ 663 children ☐ 664 children ☐ 665 children ☐ 666 children ☐ 667 children ☐ 668 children ☐ 669 children ☐ 670 children ☐ 671 children ☐ 672 children ☐ 673 children ☐ 674 children ☐ 675 children ☐ 676 children ☐ 677 children ☐ 678 children ☐ 679 children ☐ 680 children ☐ 681 children ☐ 682 children ☐ 683 children ☐ 684 children ☐ 685 children ☐ 686 children ☐ 687 children ☐ 688 children ☐ 689 children ☐ 690 children ☐ 691 children ☐ 692 children ☐ 693 children ☐ 694 children ☐ 695 children ☐ 696 children ☐ 697 children ☐ 698 children ☐ 699 children ☐ 700 children ☐ 701 children ☐ 702 children ☐ 703 children ☐ 704 children ☐ 705 children ☐ 706 children ☐ 707 children ☐ 708 children ☐ 709 children ☐ 710 children ☐ 711 children ☐ 712 children ☐ 713 children ☐ 714 children ☐ 715 children ☐ 716 children ☐ 717 children ☐ 718 children ☐ 719 children ☐ 720 children ☐ 721 children ☐ 722 children ☐ 723 children ☐ 724 children ☐ 725 children ☐ 726 children ☐ 727 children ☐ 728 children ☐ 729 children ☐ 730 children ☐ 731 children ☐ 732 children ☐ 733 children ☐ 734 children ☐ 735 children ☐ 736 children ☐ 737 children ☐ 738 children ☐ 739 children ☐ 740 children ☐ 741 children ☐ 742 children ☐ 743 children ☐ 744 children ☐ 745 children ☐ 746 children ☐ 747 children ☐ 748 children ☐ 749 children ☐ 750 children ☐ 751 children ☐ 752 children ☐ 753 children ☐ 754 children ☐ 755 children ☐ 756 children ☐ 757 children ☐ 758 children ☐ 759 children ☐ 760 children ☐ 761 children ☐ 762 children ☐ 763 children ☐ 764 children ☐ 765 children ☐ 766 children ☐ 767 children ☐ 768 children ☐ 769 children ☐ 770 children ☐ 771 children ☐ 772 children ☐ 773 children ☐ 774 children ☐ 775 children ☐ 776 children ☐ 777 children ☐ 778 children ☐ 779 children ☐ 780 children ☐ 781 children ☐ 782 children ☐ 783 children ☐ 784 children ☐ 785 children ☐ 786 children ☐ 787 children ☐ 788 children ☐ 789 children ☐ 790 children ☐ 791 children ☐ 792 children ☐ 793 children ☐ 794 children ☐ 795 children ☐ 796 children ☐ 797 children ☐ 798 children ☐ 799 children ☐ 800 children ☐ 801 children ☐ 802 children ☐ 803 children ☐ 804 children ☐ 805 children ☐ 806 children ☐ 807 children ☐ 808 children ☐ 809 children ☐ 810 children ☐ 811 children ☐ 812 children ☐ 813 children ☐ 814 children ☐ 815 children ☐ 816 children ☐ 817 children ☐ 818 children ☐ 819 children ☐ 820 children ☐ 821 children ☐ 822 children ☐ 823 children ☐ 824 children ☐ 825 children ☐ 826 children ☐ 827 children ☐ 828 children ☐ 829 children ☐ 830 children ☐ 831 children ☐ 832 children ☐ 833 children ☐ 834 children ☐ 835 children ☐ 836 children ☐ 837 children ☐ 838 children ☐ 839 children ☐ 840 children ☐ 841 children ☐ 842 children ☐ 843 children ☐ 844 children ☐ 845 children ☐ 846 children ☐ 847 children ☐ 848 children ☐ 849 children ☐ 850 children ☐ 851 children ☐ 852 children ☐ 853 children ☐ 854 children ☐ 855 children ☐ 856 children ☐ 857 children ☐ 858 children ☐ 859 children ☐ 860 children ☐ 861 children ☐ 862 children ☐ 863 children ☐ 864 children ☐ 865 children ☐ 866 children ☐ 867 children ☐ 868

could be good and had unemployed." What is more, some Socialists have blasted at the movement's history of its job-creation platform while others pointedly demand to know precisely where the financing will come from. Indeed, that question still remains largely unanswered, despite the fact that Mitterrand has promised to reduce taxes by a startling \$9.5 billion next year.

None of the scheme's critics has questioned the need to revive France's ailing industrial framework. The steel industry is enmeshed by antiquated equipment and is often pulled by Third World competition. But the government's proposed elimination of 11,000 jobs risks provoking bitter results in the already depressed region of Lorraine. Last week 800 workers paralyzed traffic in Metz by laying out coils of steel in the downtown streets, police eventually had to cut the coils with blowtorches.

The coal industry, which last year chalked up losses of more than \$100 million, is in a more perilous situation. Currently, government subsidies keep French coal competitive against foreign imports. As a result, every ton of coal which French firms sell for \$60 costs the government more than \$100 to mine. Now, with coal providing only 14 per cent of France's energy needs, the government plans to reduce annual pro-



Mitterrand's march: a plan to cut 60,000 jobs

duction to 10 million from 12 million tons.

The government has not yet revealed its plans for the car industry. But *Régie Nationale des Usines Renault*—the state-owned automobile giant—has already announced plans to cut 7,000 jobs. Similarly, the steel—and privately owned—*Usine de Hot-Châtel* group is preparing for 5,000 job cuts to reverse three years of growing losses. Those layoffs could prove swamy in light of the strike's violent strikes by outback-protesting immigrant Talmi employees.

The modernization plan and its attendant job cuts represent the final and most spectacular section of a complete economic U-turn for the Socialists, who entered office in 1981 promising economic expansion but became converts to austerity one year later. An economist Michel Cluzel points out in a new book called *La France, Quatrième* (France all the time), only the French Left could get away with such a surprising U-turn. "In the eyes of the population, if the Right preaches rigor, that's because it's the Right. If the Left takes up the same themes, the measures are seen as forced by the facts." As France's unions prepare to fight for their members' jobs, they seem sure to put Cluzel's theories to a harsh test. —MICHAEL McDONALD in Paris

HILTON INTERNATIONAL CANADA

In case you need a secretary to type the next draft of that proposal. Or a meeting room and a big pot of hot coffee for 8:30 tomorrow morning. Just in case, it's nice to know that we can probably offer you all that. And more. Fine restaurants that help make the reputation of Hilton

International from Paris to Québec City. Deluxe accommodations. And the same superb service enjoyed by our guests world-wide. For reservations, call your travel agent, Hilton Reservation Service or any Hilton International hotel.

CHARLOTTETOWN · SAINT JOHN, N.B. (Open Summer 1984)
QUÉBEC CITY · MONTREAL AIRPORT (Dorval) · TORONTO (Harbour Castle)
TORONTO AIRPORT · WINDSOR



WHERE THE WORLD IS AT HOME™



**1984
Chrysler Laser.
Revolutionary.
Lease it.**

The all new Chrysler Laser. A revolution in sports cars. Revolutionary with frame wheel drive, turbo power, on-board computers, and styling written in the wind. A car designed to bring out the sport in you. And Chrysler LeaseAbility gets you in the race. LeaseAbility is over behind book loans, high finance charges, credit tie ups. You can keep your cash for saving and in your new Chrysler Laser. Swing into your Chrysler dealer and join the Chrysler Revolution with Chrysler LeaseAbility.



Dodge Plymouth

Be recognized
by your taste in Scotch.



FOR THE RECORD

Dynamos of urban sound

MYSTERY WALK
M+M
(Coronet/ECG)

While Marsha and the Maffins always show as Canada's brightest new wave band, they also had numerous setbacks. Since their hit *Echo Beach*, the group has switched record labels and changed personnel at a dizzying rate. Now, having dispensed with the Maffins altogether, founders Marsha Johnson and Mark Gene (aka M+M) have set out to re-explore the musical ground that they trod with their unlabeled album *Dansaparc*. Where that 1982 release flirted with horns and African rhythms, *Mystery Walk* confidently embraces the heavy sound of funk.

In its loudest moments, M+M has a hip, rhythmic sense, demonstrating a new embrace in making energetic and intelligent dance music. *Black Stations/White Stations*, featuring clever, punchy horn arrangements, boldly challenges white supremacists to bridge the racial gap. But when M+M pursue more sedate sounds, the male stratters with talking percussion and defusing drums which detract from Johnson's vocals. When Gene succeeds with a powerful message (*Notes of Fulcrum*), he does so with a gently spoken singing style that perfectly captures his attack on Canadian complacency. In tracking songs about urban life for a sophisticated sound, M+M display maturity and adventure.

FEARLESS
Nina Hagen
(ECG)

Since leaping over the Berlin Wall to the West in 1970, East German-born Nina Hagen has become one of pop music's most unorthodox performers. *Fearless*, her second solo album, is disco crossed with opera, with a Thelma Houston of high camp. On *The Chinese she yodels about*, Roy George and Queen Elizabeth. With *Flaming Screens* Hagen is at her theatrical best, putting on a variety of sexy voices and rolling her reddish words. But none the savvy of her misadventures, fatamatic messages wears thin, and the over-grown electronic drumbeat thumps monotonously. Without the proper vehicle to express her eclectic point of view, Hagen is a delirious dynamo. —NICHOLAS JENNINGS

Only butter is butter. Naturally.

And nothing else tastes quite as good. So isn't it reassuring to know that you can make butter part of your family's balanced diet along with other dairy products, whole grain cereals and fresh vegetables. That's because butter, made from pure, fresh milk, is an excellent source of vitamin A and no cholesterol have been added. And it contains no more calories than margarine*. Only butter is butter—regular or unsalted—and you know nothing else tastes quite as good!

It only takes a little butter
to make a lot of difference.



CHAMBER HONEY BUTTER

Creams together equal portions of butter and mild honey. Tastes to taste with ground cinnamon. Delicious served on toast, apples, strawberries, pancakes.



The milk producers
of your province.

A Natural Choice for Your Kitchen.

*No cholesterol, sodium, or sugar in the generic butter of natural milk butter. Ingredients: (Chamber's Butter) Butter, Canada, "Natural Butter of Canada, (Chamber's Butter) 100%.

A history of emperors without clothes

THE MARCH OF FOLLY
FROM TROY TO VIETNAM

By Barbara W. Tuchman
(Random House,
447 pages, \$24)

Benjamin Franklin, examining the events that led to the American Revolution, once wrote, "History is full of the errors of states and princes." He argued that was British statesmanship that have averted the Declaration of Independence and the bloody war that followed. Historian Barbara Tuchman agrees that sheer blindness caused the British to resist the United States' national liberation movement—the same blindness that led the Americans to resist national liberation in Vietnam 200 years later. In *The March of Folly*, Tuchman catalogues errors of states and princes extending from ancient Troy through the Renaissance papacy to modern governments. She almost succeeds in marshalling her pages of frailty and foolishness, but in the end she falls short. The incidents in *The March of Folly* are too disparate to live comfortably in one book.

True folly, Tuchman argues, occurs when leaders freely choose to follow a course that many realize is contrary to their interests. The Trojans carefully debated whether to take the wooden horse within their walls. The 13 U.S. colonies had many friends in Britain who realized the futility of attempting to resist their demands. And it is difficult to find anyone who visited Indiana during the 25 years of its territorial government who believed that the United States had a warlike neighbor to the challenge of Vietnamese Communist nationalism. There was only a handful of deluded true believers who happened to have almost unlimited power.

Like many best-selling historians, Barbara Tuchman is most readable and accurate when she is sketching colorful characters, digging up sordid quotations, fashions out dry facts and dead men with red detail. *The March of Folly* succeeds best when the characters parade by in full foolishness—ferocious popes, greedy and slightly mad British aristocrats and mischievous American presidents. They are all surrounded without details, whose naked folly leads to disaster. Madness is in the streets when parents pass laws legitimizing their bastard children or the *Ladies Above Journal* covers the case of rapists on helpless peasants. The Trojans could have heard the Greeks in the



Tuchman fatal errors from Troy onward

thinly disguised horse, if only they had listened.

Tuchman covers so much ground so quickly that she can examine none of it thoroughly and she cannot include her own best talents as a master of word pictures. Her decision to crane three

books into one makes sense only if the study of widely separated, avoidable calamities yields illuminating parallels or generalizations. Striving for deep insight, she fails to find it. Both George III and Lyndon Johnson pressed on partly because they were determined not to lose a war. Richard Nixon became as detached from reality and as profane as Pope Julius II. Beyond those simple comparisons there are not many parallels. The Reformation was a schism in a church; the American Revolution was an English-speaking civil war; Vietnam was imperial technological fury unleashed on an obstinate Third World nation. The horse of folly has a thousand heads.

With as little space for each of her major events, Tuchman fails to do justice to any of them on their own terms. The history of the onset of the Reformation makes only passing reference to Martin Luther. She writes a good skeleton history of the Vietnam War, in 144 pages of sober, authoritative and depressing narrative. But she has no space to nourish her prose from the rich body of Vietnam War fiction, memoirs and movies, and the color almost visibly drains from her pages as she records a gray, unrelieved disaster.

Tuchman's limp, somewhat defeated conclusion is that folly comes in many guises and seems to repeat itself almost inexplicably. "We can only modify or, in the only conclusion she offers, it never learns to read Tuchman on history or to be rewarded of the fallibility of states and princes. But *The March of Folly* will leave discerning history buffs unsatisfied. She does better than the fellows she writes about, but she has done much better in the past."

—MICHAEL BLISS

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *Pet Sematary*, King (1)
- 2 *The Name of the Rose*, Eco (1)
- 3 *Polecat*, McKee (1)
- 4 *Shogun's Egg*, Atwood (1)
- 5 *The Wicked Day*, Stewart (1)
- 6 *Berlin Game*, Douglas (1)
- 7 *The Robots of Dawn*, Ansary (1)
- 8 *The Dancer*, Frances (1)
- 9 *A Time For Judas*, Colquhoun (1)
- 10 *The Little Drummer Girl*, Covert (1)

(1) Fiction list week

Nonfiction

- 1 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (1)
- 2 *The Game*, Douglas (1)
- 3 *You Can't Print That*, Egmont (1)
- 4 *Intrepid's Last Case*, Sherman (1)
- 5 *The Money Spinners*, Moberg (1)
- 6 *Crusades*, Martin, Gragg and Perlin (1)
- 7 *Other People's Money*, Foster (1)
- 8 *Get Smart! Make Your Money Count*, Murchison (1)
- 9 *No Sex Please... We're Married*, London (1)
- 10 *Moderation*, The Second Oldest Professions, Dundee

True Taste.

Rich in satisfaction.

Warning: Quitting now Greatly reduces serious risks to health. Smoking causes lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and may be hazardous to pregnancy. Average per cigarette: King Size Filter "tar" 12 mg. Nic. 1.0 mg. Regular Filter "tar" 9 mg. Nic. 0.6 mg.

STABILO BOSS

Makes your point!



- World's largest-selling highlighter
- Long lasting
- Original re-roll design
- 8 brilliant colors

Schwann-STABILO

For nearest dealer contact
H&N JORDAN & CO LTD
955 Margaret Dr
Don Mills Ontario M3J 3C4
(416) 963-9352

"It's smart to wear a helmet. If I were playing football I wear one."



Bobbi Orr, Hall of Fame hockey player

Brain damage is forever. That is why The Elmer Seal Solutions encourage young people to wear protective helmets, and to always play with safety in mind.

Like Bobbi Orr, visit Head First And make sure your children go first.

Presented by The Elmer Seal Society. Giveaway in partnership with 4-Counters Inc.



White: most beloved of writer of North Americans

Master of whimsy

E.B. WHITE, A BIOGRAPHY
By Scott Ellinger
(Oxford, 400 pages, \$21.95)

EB. White, now 84, is one of the last survivors of a literary generation that included Ernest Hemingway, Hart Crane and William Faulkner. Through his long career he has turned his hand to a variety of literary forms with astonishing success. His graceful, subtle essays have won a president's medal and have been widely reprinted. The text helped to make *The New Yorker* one of the finest magazines of the century, and his children's books have become classics. As well, the prolific author has established himself as a noted authority on prose style, a champion of the virtues of clarity and brevity. Indeed, it is entirely fitting that when asked to comment on the first biography ever written about him, White pronounced it "too long."

The volume of *travels* researched, edited by E.B. White, *A Biography* does make it seem overly long at times. But Scott Ellinger has written a witty and entertaining introduction to White's life. Elmer Seal White was born in 1899 in a New York City suburb, the son of a wealthy, liberal-minded piano manufacturer, and his childhood was a

happy one. Indeed, his rather sheltered upbringing may have been a reason why he was, in Ellinger's words, "a long time growing up."

When White was 17 he still shared an apartment with his Cornell University fraternity brothers and had avoided any serious involvement with women. He had, however, written his first poem for *The New Yorker*, the publication with which he was associated for 50 years.

The comparison of E.B. White and the elegant new magazine was as fortuitous as it was successful. His contributions were the only ones that Editor Harold Ross always thought were "just right," and White deserves much of the credit for setting the light, humorous yet intelligent tone that became the magazine's hallmark. The White legend to produce something more than that witty satire and thumbnail sketches in 1938. *Harper's* magazine commissioned him to write essays on topics ranging from children's books to war. A developed, the collection became a best seller.

The immense success of his 1952 children's classic, *Charlotte's Web*, ensured that White could live comfortably, but financial security did not soothe the worry and suffering which ran through his life. Like a fault line, White suffered a host of symptoms—dizziness, bad digestion, insomnia—but which doctors could find no physical cause. It is obvious to even an untrained observer that White had been deeply neurotic and that his life has contained hidden fears and rages which have been allowed no conscious expression.

White biographers since Freud have harped on such details, Ellinger is too gentle in refusing to speculate on the darker side of White's life. Even when talking serious subjects, White has a way of lightening their impact. For admirer Henry David Thoreau for "steadfastly refusing to record his mood." Such an attitude explains why the intensely satirical and cynical writer never delved deeply into his own anguish, preferring the elusive reference of the humorous understatement. But if he had confessed his own darkness, he would never have become the man whom the poet John Keats called "America's most beloved writer."

—JOHN BENNETT

MEDICINE

A German kidney cure

About one in every 1,000 North Americans eventually develops kidney stones, and for many of them the result is excruciating pain. For 15 per cent of sufferers who are unable to pass the crystalline deposits in their urine, the solution is usually major surgery, involving as many as four weeks of convalescence. But a new West German machine, which breaks down kidney stones by bombarding them with shock waves while the non-therapeutic patient is immersed in water, may soon replace the need for surgery altogether. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has authorized six hospitals to conduct trials of the new machine, beginning early next month at the Los Angeles Methodist Hospital.

Declared Dr. John Wyatt, president of the Canadian Urological Association: "It is probably one of the most exciting developments in our field since renal lithotripsy." The machine, called a "lithotriptor," fragments the stones without an incision or any known side effects, and the treatment requires only a few days in hospital. Specialists hope that the lithotriptor will be useful for the thousands of Canadians each year who otherwise would require surgery for kidney stones. The \$50,000 machine, manufactured by the Dornier Corp., works by transmitting shock waves for as long as 90 minutes. With the help of X-rays, it concentrates the electronically generated waves on the stone, reducing it to granules which the patient can then pass in urine with only slight discomfort. In a three-year trial completed last year on 1,000 patients at the University of Munich, Germany, a lithotriptor pulverized kidney stones in 85 per cent of patients and reduced them in most others. Only one per cent of the patients still required surgery.

Canadian urologists predict that there will be lithotriptors in major Canadian centres within the next few years. The machine could cost hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to operate regularly, but its proponents say that it is much more economical than the surgery it would eliminate. Besides, the wave treatment reduces the pain and risk of complications from surgery, and for most kidney stone sufferers, those advantages are priceless.

—PATRICIA HUGHES
in Toronto

The original Laurentian Lighter



Cost in lifetime quality value. Here's a great bonus for smokers with a Laurentian or wood stove. The new cheap, long-lasting, strong newspaper or magazine lighter that burns for hours, every time, and is low cost, without loading. Yes, even if your hardwood logs are damp or "green".

Light wood fires quickly and safely, without kindling or newspaper

The new design holds a porous block of special fast-burning ceramic. To use the Laurentian Lighter, just push down to a cup of kerosene, move out the charcoal lighter fuel over the block (sawdust drops) on length of burning time desired. When the lighter under the logs or bottom of fireplace or wood stove, and light it. You'll have a cozy warm fire crackling merrily in next 30 minutes.

A great gift idea, guaranteed to delight. Check your gift giving the new! Available several people with special appreciation such as a wife and a child!



Shown Apr. 20 at the Laurentian Lighter

15 DAY FREE EXAMINATION CERTIFICATE

Clip and mail today to:
The Laurentian Lighter
711 Bay Street
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7

The photo used on this... Laurentian Lighter, a \$27.95. If not delighted, we will refund your money within 15 days. No return needed on replacement.

Please add \$1.95 for shipping and handling for each order. Orders outside Canada add \$5. Quarter refundable. All prices are in U.S. dollars.

☐ Check in money order enclosed (payable to Laurentian Lighter)
☐ Bill charge card ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard
☐ American Express ☐ Discover

NAME:

ADDRESS:

CITY:

STATE:

ZIP:

DATE:

The key
to turning
investment
into profit

Investor's Digest CIBC Daily

Published By The Financial Post

Now for as little as \$4.95 per issue, you can receive investment help from the financial newsletter judged #1 in 1987 "the best financial advisory newsletter in the world" by the Newsletter Association of America.

Twice each month, INVESTOR'S DIGEST presents knowledgeable investment information from the market experts themselves. Detailed up-to-date brokerage reports on specific companies and industries—including summaries and recommendations—from Canada's leading investment brokers. Plus future columns that offer perceptive observations from widely respected professionals.

Whether you are a novice investor or a seasoned market player, the key to turning investment into profits is to base your investment decisions-making on credible information—the information you'll find in every issue of Investor's Digest. See this week's of Canada's most successful investment newsletter today!

3 month trial subscription for only \$29.47

Call (416) 596-5670 or toll free 1-800-268-9055, or write Investor's Digest, Mackenzie Hunter Building, 777 Bay Street, Toronto, Canada M5W 1A7



The Financial Post's
Investor's
Digest
CIBC Daily

HOUSING

Shelter for the poor

Since 1978 Ottawa, through the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp., has subsidized municipalities, co-operatives and service groups that build low-cost, nonprofit accommodation for low-income families. When it began, the program was widely hailed as a significant social advance. But a recent CMHC report declared that the system is not working, especially the co-op sector, which, it charged, was subsidizing housing for the rich.

The study showed that more than 500,000 Canadian families who rent

report stated that the CMHC's current regulations actually may be denying housing to low-income families. In order to obtain government funding for nonprofit housing, cities and other groups must guarantee that rent-subsidized families occupy only 25 per cent of the units in the development. The balance of the tenants must pay rental costs comparable to inexpensive rents in private apartments in the surrounding area. But the policy means that steadily rising rents in commercial properties in many Canadian cities are



Nutts (left) and family: Federal social housing programs are not working

pay more than 18 per cent of all tenants—pay more than 20 per cent of their income on rent. The report charges that the current program provides housing that serves only one per cent of renters who need financial help, even though Ottawa had poured \$35.9 million into the program by the end of 1982 and expects to be paying out more than \$1.5 billion annually within 10 years. Commented Joyce Potter, a CMHC spokesman who helped write the report, "We are providing a very high level of benefit to some people fortunate enough to get into the program, whereas all of the others on the waiting list get no assistance at all."

Poor critics suggest, however, that the government should get out of the business of housing the poor. The revenues engendered the reality of the private sector to provide low-cost accommodation—developers built little new housing of any kind except for luxury dwellings during 1982 and 1983. But the

forcing many subsidized tenants out of nonprofit developments financially, co-ops, which are generally started by more affluent groups, often charge lower rents than nonprofit organizations because the government only requires co-ops to charge high market-value rents for their first year. After that the co-op only needs to set rents high enough to cover operating costs.

Jane Nutts, 46, lives with three of her four children in a Toronto nonprofit housing development. She receives unemployment insurance and support payments from her estranged husband. But commercial rents in her neighborhood have soared. As a result, her rent recently rose to \$600 from \$300 a month, and she says that the increases will eventually force her to seek a less expensive place to live.

In contrast, the enviable position of some people who live in co-operatives is causing a furor in Vancouver, where a Vancouver Sun columnist recently

"Can you imagine? They were going to leave Israel without seeing Caesarea. So I took them there myself."



"Caesarea is perfect for two kinds of people. People who like history and people who like to relax."

"I explained that to this Canadian couple I met. Then I showed them what I meant."

"Because in Caesarea, right next door to Herod's palace, which is 2,000 years old, there's a brand new golf course. And some of the loveliest beaches in the country."

"That's typical of Israel. Old and new, serious and fun, all at once."

"And everywhere you go, there are Israelis just as eager as I am to show off the country."

"Nearly everybody speaks English—so if you have any questions, just ask."

"We may not always know the answer, but you'll end up with a friend."

Israel, the Miracle on the Mediterranean. For more information about a vacation in Israel, see a travel agent.

**Come to Israel.
Come stay with friends.**





Bridges, Shwartz, a rich, sexy and unsettling fairy tale to remind adults that they are still afraid of the dark

FILMS

The carnival of life

THE HOTEL NEW HAMPSHIRE
Directed by Tony Richardson

Watching *The Hotel New Hampshire* is like being caught in the middle of a traffic accident: so much happens so quickly that the action sweeps the viewer along. Tony Richardson's brilliant adaptation of John Irving's dark and sentimental novel is a masterpiece of compression. In just two hours he manages to squeeze in all the adventures and tragedies of the Berry family, retelling the power of Irving's story but avoiding his tendency to mumble and repeat himself. The theme of Irving's first novel, *The World According to Garp*, was "We are all surrealists, damn it," and that of *The Hotel New Hampshire* is just as grim: life is one miserable thing after another, much of it ridiculous, and all of it leading down the same dark lane toward death. What was absent from the film version of *Garp* is wildly, almost uncontrollably present in *The Hotel New Hampshire*—a real sense of the pain its characters suffer.

Win Berry (Bess Bridges) is a Gatsby-like drinker who hopes to own a grand hotel one day. With his love for beer and out-of-step characters, Win is slightly obnoxious, and it is obvious that his wife, Mary (Lisa Banes), loves him for it. He ends a girl's seminary and turns it into the Hotel New Hampshire,

settling his restaurant hotel in it along with the family mascot, an old intruder named Berrow who dies of chronic flatulence. And it is Berrow's presence that continually provides the movie's dead and stuffy, by which we can calmly retell the family's heart attack, a rape, a heart-breaking airline crash, madness and suicide. John (Rob Lowe), who serves as both narrator and a one-man Greek chorus, is obsessed with an impossible love for his sister, Franzy (Jodie Foster). Franzy remains psychologically scarred from her rape, Frank (Paul McCrane) is the self-admitted homosexual who never really connects with the rest of the world, and there is Lilly (Jennie Dundas), a wise but not often creature whose body refuses to grow beyond its childhood state. But as characters they all do grow, with a grace befitting the film's strange, fairy-tale fables.

Director and screenwriter Richardson walks a tightrope of tone, the facial elements, such as sped-up film, threaten to subsume the extreme realism of the intense emotions the Berry experience. What Richardson accomplishes, however, is a rich, sexy, even leopards' coveture of life, free of sentimentality. *The Hotel New Hampshire* is like a shrewing circus, especially when the Berrows move to Vienna and help Win's old friend Sigmond Freud (Wallace Shawn) run a hotel largely

populated by terrorists and prostitutes. But in every carnival there is a spark house and a clown whose painted smile hides a face ravaged by pain. In *The Hotel New Hampshire* the clown is a lesbian named Bessie the Bear (a deplorable Nastassja Kinski in a moving performance), who hides from reality inside a bear suit. Absurdity in the movie becomes the norm.

Aside from his laconic, yet rich, condemnation of Irving's book, Richardson's greatest achievement is his extraordinary handling of the actors. No less moving than Kinski is Foster as the free-loving but secretly fearful Franzy. As the obsessive, body-biting John, Lowe is the least endearing, but appropriately so. And Dundas as the mother, in what is surely a male role, has a hypnotic maternal warmth. Bess Bridges and Jennie Dundas seem slightly out of sync as the dreamy Win and the diminutive, worried Lilly, but they never throw the film's rhythm off. And there are small, memorable appearances from Anne Morris as a shrewd, seagull waitress, Amanda Plummer as a terrorist with a passion for books, and Wilfred Brinley as the Berry grandfather, Iowa Bob, who bears out paternal love like a ham in light house.

With most of its scenes densely populated with characters and their conflicting emotions, *The Hotel New Hampshire* has the richness of a finely woven tapestry. Its uneasy mixture of force and tragedy, low comedy and high drama, lends it an unsettling, magical quality. The movie is indeed a scary tale for adults—one that reminds them that they are still children, still afraid of the dark.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

With CBC Radio News you get 20 editions a day, and save a bundle!



CBC Radio News is the medium for people who really want to keep informed.

We're the largest news-gathering service in the country

So we can bring you more up-to-the-minute reports, more times a day than anyone else.

Listen to CBC Radio News. And hear the quality.

1-800-441-2343

The Chivas in the Liberal mix

By Allan Fotheringham

When John Turner was 18 years old, he received a telephone call for help. He was in Vancouver. The call came from Lytton, which is at the north end of the world-spanning Fraser Canyon, carved through the mountains by that mighty river as it drains toward the Pacific. His stepfather was Frank Ross, a rally-poly industrialist, later British Columbia's Environment minister. Ross had set out from a summer retreat near Lytton with a close friend and drinking companion, Col. Victor Spence,

has 65, with plans to add 18 more. Thanks to the stout and shrewd of Turner and the shrewdness of Macdonald, McMillan Birch is now snapping at the heels of the five or six biggest law offices in Toronto, which means the country. His office is representing the Ontario government in the celebrated multimillion-dollar Bannockburn apartment-dip dispute. Turner's business takes him regularly to New York and Montreal, to Australia, to England. His income would easily exceed \$300,000. At Winter's, the restaurant that Peter Newman calls "the day

Turner tasted Range as a member of the combined Oxford-Cambridge track team. He loves parties. So does Murray Trudeau hates them.

His father was an English journalist who died when John Turner was a small boy. His mother, now aging and sitting on Ballinger Island in British Columbia, was the first licensed female in Ottawa, a lively and powerful woman who was one of C.D. Howe's wartime wardeners. Turner usually keeps a friendship going with the most under-rated journalist in Ottawa, Stewart MacLeod, who, as a columnist for the more than



care centre for the Establishment," the first banquet on the left is reserved for Macdonald or Turner five days a week if they want it.

As a young lawyer he had to plead in a Quebec City court. The judge admired his courage for trying his "passable French." It also attracted the attention of the late Union Nationale premier, Daniel Johnson, who introduced Turner to the fine Quebec legal custom of brandy at 11 a.m. Johnson also happens to be Reiss McEwen's political hero.

The subject of our attention is still known in Vancouver as "Chick" Turner, the name given him by a war vet who entered his line as the University of British Columbia hockey team. While at UBC he was the Canadian 100-yard champion. Like all good sprinters, he is super-fit. He is a left-handed white at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar he became—and remains—friends with Chris Chelmsley, now a London banker, then a brilliant runner who paced Roger Bannister to the first four-minute mile.

the Eskimos, and by believing they were apparently outwitted. Austin Taylor, another high-rolling Vancouver millionaire, who, among other things, was the father-in-law of William F. Buckley Jr., decided to take some of the eastern money. He recruited young Turner to build the money. When the flowing cash in large bills hit \$300,000, Turner asked a cup to stand by, just in case Jackie Parker, of course, peaked up that fumble and went 55 yards for the tying touchdown. Edwards won 36-6, and Turner, in a reward, was given \$2,000—his first legal fee.

On weekends he talks to Todd Bruster and Steve Fotheringham at a Collingwood, Ont., so resort. His plans for him He was proud while in government of his hatred of me too. He likes to talk on the telephone instead. He is of the same school as Murray and Lynden Johnson, confident that the personal choice is best and quickest. He drinks Chivas Regal on the rocks with Penner as the sits. You're welcome.



The most advanced name in Home Electronics is the name you've been working with for years. Sharp.



Sharp. The name you've come to trust for top-quality Electronic Products is the name your whole family will want for a complete line of Home Electronic Products.

Because the over 70 years of experience and innovation that have gone into the making of products that work for you in business, is the same precision and expertise you'll appreciate working for you in your home.

Now that's Sharp.

"Now, that's Sharp"



SHARP

CANADA LTD., 114 BRISTOL SQUARE, RICHMOND, ONTARIO M6W 4Y5 (416) 882-0044



TASTE FOR YOURSELF

NOW.
A LITTLE
U.S. FLAVOR
IN A LOT
OF CANADIAN
CIGARETTE.

Introducing Player's
Special Blend.

Not just a new cigarette.

A new kind of cigarette.

Smooth Canadian tobacco,
blended with just enough
rich U.S. leaf.

A little difference
makes all the
difference.



Regular and King Size

Made in Canada by John Player & Sons

Warning: Health and Welfare Canada advises that danger to health increases with amount smoked—avoid inhaling.
Average per cigarette: Regular and King Size—14 mg "tar", 1.1 mg nicotine.